

AN EXCEEDINGLY GOOD CAKE

Deborah Ross meets television's Oswald Mosley.

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MAKING THE HEADLINES

Kirsty Young on clothes, trust and Channel 5.

MEDIA PLUS

THE ECSTASY OF PLAY-WRITING

Irvine Welsh in rehearsal for his first stage production.

THE EYE

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THE INDEPENDENT

Monday 16 February 1998 45p No 3,535

■ US military expresses grave doubts ■ British diplomats want sanctions lifted ■ Labour MPs set to rebel

Race to stop the war

By John Carlin
Patrick Cockburn
and Fran Abrams

AS Washington yesterday threatened repeated strikes to destroy Iraq's weapons of mass destruction, the race to prevent the allied assault on Iraq intensified.

A technical team sent by United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan to survey "presidential" sites suspected of harbouring chemical and biological weapons met Iraqi arms

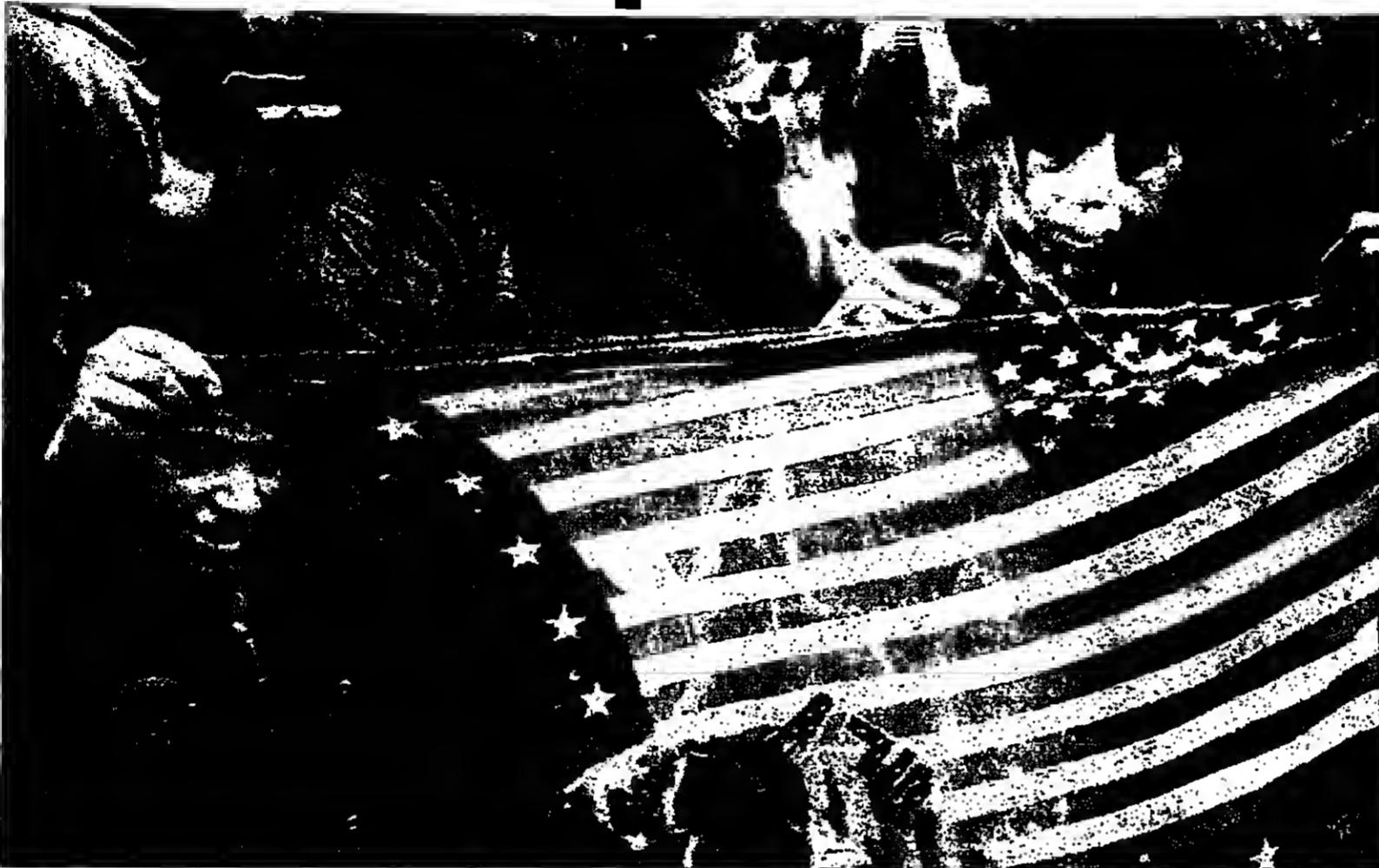
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negotiators in Baghdad, and Security Council members searched for consensus on a framework for talks between Mr Annan and the Iraqi government should the UN chief visit Baghdad personally.

The United States National Security Adviser, Sandy Berger, issued a blunt warning that if diplomacy failed, US forces would hit Iraq repeatedly to cripple any residual capacity to rebuild its arsenal of chemical and biological weapons. But other signals emanating from the American military suggest that if and when the orders come to attack Iraq, they will not be following them with much conviction.

Grave doubts remain in military officers' minds about the purpose of an air strike, especially in the light of likely Iraqi civilian casualties, probable loss of American pilots and the acknowledged impossibility of eliminating President Saddam's



caption

capacity to make biological and chemical weapons.

General Henry Shelton, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, told US senators in a briefing last week that he estimated the cost of launching an attack would be 1,500 Iraqi civilians and American military personnel dead. Various military officers, serving and retired, have told the news media that the precautions necessary to avoid inflicting even greater civilian casualties would severely hamper efforts to deal President Saddam the crushing blow the politicians seek.

In an interview with reporters last week General Shelton implicitly questioned President Bill Clinton's stated purpose for an air strike, namely "substantially" to reduce or delay Iraq's ability to make weapons of mass destruction.

Speaking of the ease with which Iraqi technicians could convert a hospital or a fertiliser plant into an anthrax or mustard gas manufacturing facility, he said: "You can convert one of them quickly and resume making chemical or biological weapons.

One day he's making fertiliser, the next day chemical weapons,

and the next day fertiliser. We're not going to bomb hospitals, for sure... I didn't say we can eliminate his weapons of mass destruction. We can't."

Meanwhile, Sir Donald MacIntosh, the former British Ambassador to the UN, and four former British ambassadors to Iraq, say that progress in the inspection of Baghdad's weapons of mass destruction should be more directly linked to the lifting of sanctions.

They suggest in a letter to *The Independent* that the Security Council should adopt a new resolution whereby UN in-

spectors, reinforced by representatives of other countries, should have unrestricted access to all suspected sites in Iraq.

Once this process has begun "further sales of Iraqi oils for humanitarian aid will be allowed". The distribution of aid would be supervised by neutral observers. If, after two months, the inspection has proceeded without interference, sanctions would be further eased. When the inspectors finish their work sanctions would end.

The former British diplomats believe that the elimination of weapons of mass

destruction, ensuring UN Security Council resolutions are fulfilled and ending the plight of ordinary Iraqis, needs to be handled in one package.

The Government is facing a revolt by Labour MPs in the Commons tomorrow over its support for military action against Iraq. Some left-wingers suggested as many as 100 members might stay away rather than vote in favour of an Anglo-US strike against Saddam Hussein. At least half a dozen Labour MPs will vote against the Government, though some estimates have put the number as high as 20.

And credit

Since making the discovery, the research team has found there are several genetic differences linked to its ability to regenerate body parts. There is probably a network of genes shared between mammals and amphibians which carry the instructions for limb regeneration, but in mammals they have been permanently switched off in the course of evolution.

mice each animal has to be marked individually so that the researchers can identify it. Usually this is done by making a pattern of small holes through their thin ears, which are then permanent.

But in the mice Dr Heber-Katz was using these holes closed up and disappeared. The researchers, thinking they had made a mistake, re-pierced the mice ears. The holes closed again, with a full replacement of the layers of skin – the epidermis and dermis – along with cartilage, fatty tissue, sweat glands and small blood vessels. The regrown, regenerated ears looked normal with no scar tissue.

This regeneration seems very similar to what happens in amphibians. At the site of the wound a bulge of rapidly dividing immature cells form with the potential to become different tissues – rather like a very early embryo. Furthermore, in the flesh next to the wound a thick layer of protein, the extracellular matrix, which normally separates different types of tissue is seen to break down during the rebuilding process.

But yesterday a scientist at a private medical research centre in Philadelphia revealed to the American Association for the Advancement of Science how, five years ago, she had stumbled across a strain of mouse which does have the ability to regenerate lost tissue. Her work is soon to be published in a medical journal.

Even when one centimetre

about a sixth – of its tail is sliced off at the tip, this type of mouse can regrow three-quarters of the missing portion of tail, with a normal looking covering of skin and hair.

Professor Ellen Heber-Katz, an immunologist at the Wistar Institute Philadelphia, discovered the "healer" mouse when she was carrying out work on various mouse strains aimed at understanding what underlies multiple sclerosis. She was using a strain with a mutation which made it "autoimmune" – its infection-fighting immune system goes into unprovoked overdrive, eventually killing the mouse prematurely.

In most research work on

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Irvine's curtain's cost £200-a-yard

By Fran Abrams
Political Correspondent

Lord's Irvine's new curtains were under the spotlight last night as the Tories homed in on new revelations about the £650,000 refurbishment of his official residence.

The Opposition promised to dig deeper into reports that the fabric for the Lord Chancellor's four-roomed apartment would cost £200 per yard, bringing the total to at least £20,000. The lavish window-coverings will not, of course, rival the £60,000 wallpaper ordered by the Prime Minister's friend and mentor, but they will lead to fresh claims that he has been a little profligate.

Hundreds of yards of damask, a mix of silk and wool, are being painstakingly produced on ancient

looms by the Humphries Weaving Company in Essex. Carpets will cost £100 per square yard from Hugh Mackay, a specialist firm in Durham, while a dining table for 10 people will cost £25,000.

Lord Irvine, whose wife is an art historian, is reported to be a stickler for detail in his quest to reproduce the original style of Parliament's architect, Augustus Pugin.

Yesterday the Conservative Trade and Industry Spokesman, John Redwood, said Parliament should investigate claims that contractors had been asked to sign the Official Secrets Act.

The Lord Chancellor has defended his restoration as part of a 10-year rolling programme to renovate neglected areas of the Palace of Westminster. Yesterday a spokesman for his department said the work had been approved by an all-party com-

Today's news

Giant for Dome

A giant silver figure will take centre stage in the Millennium Dome.

Page 3

Angel rises

The Angel of the North, Britain's largest sculpture, was put up yesterday.

Page 2

Blair sets the tone

Tony Blair has criticised the "tacky" souvenir industry that has sprung up following the death of the Princess of Wales.

Page 3

Ulster peace test

The Ulster peace talks will be severely tested today as Sinn Fein faces expulsion.

Page 2

Women get right to sue on pill

One of the companies, Wyeth of Maidenhead, Berkshire, makers of Minulet and Tri-Minulet, yesterday confirmed that it was aware that legal aid had been granted.

A spokesman added: "Wyeth intends to defend these proceedings vigorously. The Government's expert medical advisers are satisfied that the products meet the statutory requirements of quality, safety and efficacy."

The other companies involved are Schering Health Care, which makes Femodene, and Organon Laboratories, which produces Mercilon and Marvelon.

The Department of Health confirmed that in four years GPs had reported 50 cases to the Medicines Control Agency in which they suspected the pill had played a role in the death of a young woman.

Under the "yellow card" system,

GPs alert the MCA whenever they come across possible adverse side-effects of a licensed drug.

A Department of Health spokesman said: "Just because a yellow card has been logged, that doesn't mean that the pill was the cause of the deaths. There may have been no link whatsoever, but the doctor suspected one."

But Dr John Guy, a former GP who has campaigned about the dangers of the pill, said: "No girl is going to get a deep-vein thrombosis in her leg leading to a large pulmonary embolism which kills her for no reason at all. The figure of 50 deaths does not surprise me at all, and may even be too low. We have known for years that there is a certain mortality with the pill. This shows that the pill is not the sort of thing that can be dished out willy-nilly to everybody."

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Showdown for Sinn Fein over place in peace talks

By Kim Sengupta

THE IRISH peace process will today face its severest test when the parties gather in Dublin to consider whether Sinn Fein should be expelled from the talks after the recent republican killings.

Unionist parties are clamouring for the removal of the republicans after last week's Royal Ulster Constabulary declaration that the IRA was involved in the killing of a loyalist figure and a suspected drug dealer.

Sinn Fein leader Martin McGuinness warned yesterday that expelling his party from the talks could mean shutting the door permanently to its return to the negotiating table. "We could conceivably have a situation where people out there, who are attempting to destroy



Martin McGuinness: 'Very dangerous situation'

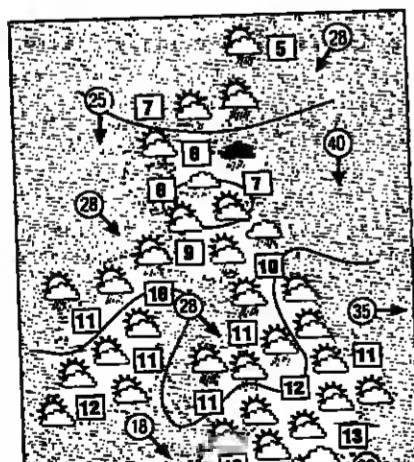
the peace process and any hope of a negotiated settlement, could conspire to create circumstances which would make it impossible for Sinn Fein to get back to these talks.

"This is a very dangerous and very grim situation".

Mr McGuinness also accused the Government of double standards, saying that when in May last year RUC Chief Constable Ronnie Flanagan declared that a number of loyalist paramilitary groups had broken the ceasefire, no attempt was made to expel their political representatives from the talks.

Comment, page 15

WEATHER



Noon today

Scotland will have a windy day with a lot of cloud and some shower rain, heaviest in the north-east, whereas the Central Lowlands should have some bright spells. Northern England, north Wales and Northern Ireland will also be quite windy but here the cloud-cover should be more broken with sunny spells and blustery showers. Eastern and south England will be dry with sunny periods developing after a cloudy start, and here too it will be breezy. All parts of

Outlook for the next few days

Tomorrow, most of the UK will become dry again with sunny periods by day, and patchy fog and frost at night. Some rain is again likely in northern Scotland, and a few showers are possible in the south-eastern corner of England. During the remainder of the week high pressure is expected to dominate the fisheries, with most parts of Britain staying dry and bright, but the north and west of Scotland will be cloudy with occasional rain.

Air quality

Yesterday's readings

SD

Good

Good

Good

Moderate

Good

هذا من الأصل

Sex poses problem for Dome's giant statue

A GIANT silver figure, larger than the Statue of Liberty, will take centre stage at the Millennium Dome, officials confirmed yesterday.

But executives from the New Millennium Experience Company, who are overseeing the project, are still arguing about its sex, a spokesman said. Sitting or reclining on the floor of the Dome with its limbs spreading out for hundreds of feet, the figure will still reach the roof 170ft above, he said.

And at 320ft long it will be nearly 20ft longer than the Statue of Liberty is tall. "There will be a body in the dome and it will be on that kind of scale," the spokesman said.

"No decision has yet been taken on whether it will be androgynous, male, or female."

He dismissed as "speculation"

reports that the figure was originally male, but executives had decided to build a huge mother figure - dubbed Britannia - which would be accompanied by the smaller figure of a child.

But he confirmed that the steel and glass fibre body will house exhibits. "The idea is you would be able to physically go inside and there will be designs and interactive exhibits

looking at functions of the body, medicine and health in the future."

A large-scale model of the figure could be ready for 24 February, when Peter Mandelson, the minister in charge of millennium celebrations, will unveil some of the Dome's top attractions. The ceremony will provide Mr Mandelson with a key platform to impress potential corporate sponsors of the £758m project.

The New Millennium Experience has denied putting the Dome up for sale. The company insists that it has not signed any contracts with the investment bank Goldman Sachs to handle the sale of the structure in 12 months of celebrations.

A number of parties including a consortium led by banking giant HSBC and P&O, which owns Earls Court and Olympia exhibition venues in west London, were believed to be interested.

A spokesman for the New Millennium Experience Company said: "The position is that we have not entered into any contract with Goldman Sachs or anybody else."

Reports said the new owner would be required to retain the Dome's superstructure but would be able to redevelop the interior for leisure, hotel, theme park or exhibition use.

He may run the country, but should he set the tone on taste?

By Kathy Marks

IN CARNABY STREET - one of London's main tourist traps for souvenir hunters - street traders were yesterday hawking T-shirts, mugs, plates and tea towels bearing the face of Diana, Princess of Wales.

These, presumably, are among the "tacky and inappropriate" products to which Tony Blair was referring at the weekend when he condemned the frenzy to cash in on the Princess's death through books, films and paraphernalia.

A host of senior politicians yesterday echoed his criticism, including John Major, guardian of the financial interests of Princes William and Harry, who said he hoped that the public would "ignore tasteless material".

William Hague, the Conservative leader, said the recent speculation about Diana's death was hurtful to the boys, while Paddy Ashdown, Liberal

Democrat leader, said: "We must not allow this to degenerate into bad taste and cheap money-making."

All worthy sentiments, with which few would disagree. But tackiness is a subjective concept, and some question whether Mr Blair should cast himself as an arbiter of taste.

Doubt was cast yesterday on the Prime Minister's credentials by Wayne Hemingway, chairman of the fashion empire Red Or Dead. Who recently ridiculed his attempts to rebrand Britain as Cool Britannia. "Everyone has their own views on what is tacky, and Tony Blair shouldn't dictate to the rest of the country," Mr Hemingway said. "If people want to buy these things, they should be allowed to buy them."

Other commentators attacked the elitism of the Prime Minister's comments, pointing out, for instance, that the sale of beads from the Princess's dresses - made into earrings, at

Some money from products

licensed by the fund goes to Diana's charities, but it is arguable whether the merchandise itself is more tasteful than the bootleg knick-knacks. An advertisement in Saturday's *Daily Telegraph* magazine, for example, offered a gold-bordered porcelain plate with a picture of Diana in tiara and pearls

for £1,000 a pair - could also be regarded as inappropriate.

In effect, the role of referee in all of this has fallen to trustees of the Princess's memorial fund, after lawyers for her estate won a court ruling last year that gave it control of the souvenir trade.

Some money from products

for £19.95. "May her light continue to shine", says the ad.

The memorial fund has also given its blessing to a beanbag soft toy, and to a Princess Diana scratchcard.

On Carnaby Street, traders defended their right to sell Diana-related wares including spoons, calendars, egg-timers

and T-shirts bearing slogans such as "The Queen of Hearts. It's what the public wants," said one.

It must be said that the Princess was adept at marketing herself in her lifetime, and that souvenir merchandise featuring the Queen has been sold for decades, without diminish-

ing the respect in which the monarch is held.

Sometimes, though, the line is easy to draw. It did not take the memorial fund long to dismiss one licence application for a bumper sticker that read "Bye, Di".

• Diana's friend, Rosa Monckton, sought yesterday to quash the mounting speculation surrounding her death.

In an article in the *Sunday Telegraph*, she said that the Princess had not been pregnant, that she had not planned to marry Dodi Fayed, and that conspiracy theories about the car crash in which she died were "farcical nonsense".

In the best possible taste? Souvenirs on sale in London's Carnaby Street yesterday and (top left) the Oxford Dictionary's definition of tacky

Photograph: Rui Xavier

Fears for mother after baby is found abandoned beside riverbank

By Andrew Buncombe

POLICE believe the mother of a baby found abandoned at a riverside yacht club may have drowned after swimming in the unseasonably warm water.

Officers are also investigating the possibility that Jackie Isaacs deliberately took her own life.

Last night, more than 24 hours after Mrs Isaacs was last seen, police had still found no trace of her.

Her 21-month-old son Joey was found naked and semi-conscious at around 7.30pm on Saturday night outside the Thurrock Yacht Club, in Grays, Essex, on the banks of the River Thames. He was taken to



gone to the club at about 3pm and had a drink at the bar. Staff said she had been in good spirits and bought a ticket for a Valentine's Day dance that evening. The mother-of-three, whose two other children were staying with their father for the weekend, was later seen enjoying the warm weather and paddling in the river with her son.

The alarm was raised several hours later after staff found Joey, along with his pushchair. His mother's clothes, jewellery and watch were found in mud at the water's edge.

Chief Inspector Terry Shearn of Essex Police, said Mrs Isaacs had spoken to staff at the club when she commented on it being lovely

weather for swimming, but was advised against it because of the strong current.

He said: "We are growing more concerned by the hour as to Mrs Isaacs' whereabouts. We have not ruled out the possibility that she might have drowned while going for a swim in the river. But nobody actually saw her swimming."

"We have also not ruled out the possibility of suicide and also the possibility that for some reason she took off and is in fact safe and well somewhere."

Police, aided by the Thames Navigation Authority, have called in helicopters to search the area. Divers will not be called in until there is a definite area to search.

Basildon Hospital for treatment of hypothermia where he was last night said to be making good progress.

Mrs Isaacs, from Grays, had

First night: Elgar's Third Symphony

The great national secret is out - and it's very moving

By Rob Cowan

Last night's world première presentation of Elgar's uncompleted Third Symphony was like the public announcement of some great national secret.

Everyone knows his work and most music-lovers will have at least heard about the sketches he left at the time of his death in February 1934. Others will have been aware of the embargo Elgar's daughter Clarice placed on any attempt to, in his dying words, "tinker" with the sketches, and of the rumpus that erupted last year when it was revealed that independent music critic and composer Anthony Payne intended to do just that.

Andrew Davis's performance with the BBC Symphony Orchestra (the same band which should have performed the piece at its scheduled première 64 years ago) was committed and compelling. The defiant opening marks a significant break with Elgar's symphonic past: this is big striding music, lean, uncompromising and with a keen eye to the future, though the second idea is as tender as the parallel episode in his Second Symphony, completed over two decades before.

Payne's development of these themes calls numerous sparks from the smithy's anvil, few placed to any particular order



Elgar: Did not want any 'tinkering'

but with four short, fully-scored passages that helped focus the rest.

There will be comparisons with Deryck Cooke's powerful "performing version" of Mahler's unfinished 10th Symphony.

But, while Cooke was an inspired Englishman abroad, Payne has, in composing

stretches of the piece from scratch, initiated himself into Elgar's very soul, coaxing moments of private reverie that recall parallel passages in the first two symphonies.

The scherzo is wistful and slightly pen-

itive; the adagio searingly intense, with a

closing viola solo that carries the words

"Billy, this is the end". "Billy" was the nick-

name of violinist WH Reed - Elgar's closest

musical friend and who first put the

composer's sketches into the public do-

main by publishing a chunk of them in the

appendix to his 1936 memoir, *Elgar As I Knew Him*; and the meaning of the words

"the end" is unequivocal, unlike the rest

of the symphony, which is more mortar than bricks but still passes as creditable

architecture.

Elgar's sick-room dialogues referred

to the idea of having the piece "tinkered with"; the dying composer even talked of

burning it - but then, like most artists, he

habitually spoke on impulse. The finale

was meant to be rugged and sounds like the

anvil, few placed to any particular order

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Britain begins to reverse the brain-drain

By John Rentoul

TONY BLAIR'S ambition to create an intellectual "cool Britannia" has been boosted by the first signs that the excitement of New Labour's arrival in power is helping to reverse the brain-drain of top minds.

The Prime Minister's favourite academic, Anthony Giddens, has managed to entice leading professors from the United States and the rest of Europe to the London School of Economics, where he is director.

Professor Giddens accompanied Mr Blair to Washington this month to take part in a think-in at the White House. "The purpose is to craft and define centre-left philosophy for the world of today," the Prime Minister said.

Professor Giddens told *The Independent*: "Wherever you go in the world, people are discussing the same problems, which was just not true 20 years ago. There is a globalisation of the debate."

"Now, if Britain could be a sparkling point, as it was for Thatcherism, as it was for the creation of welfare states, it would be a brilliant thing to achieve. I would like the LSE to be at the centre of that."

Heading the return of the exiles is Linda Colley, who is leaving Yale to become professor of history at the LSE in July. Author of *Britons: Forging the Nation*, she has advised Peter Mandelson, the Minister Without Portfolio, on the re-branding of Britain".

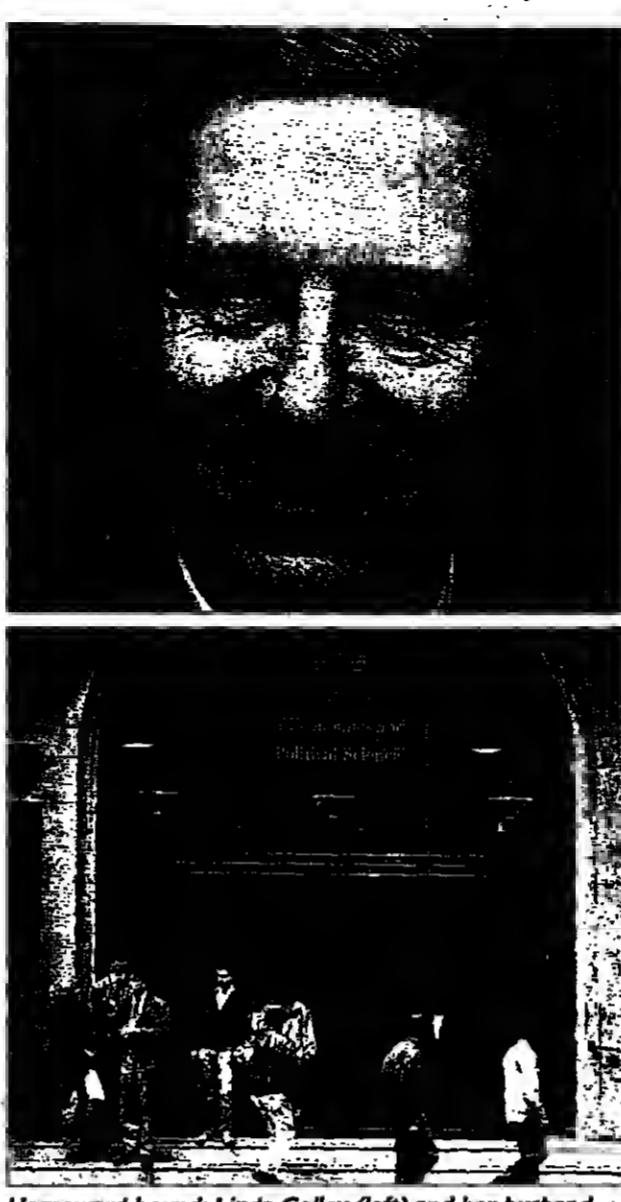
Her husband and fellow-historian David Cannadine is also returning, to take up a post at London University.

Professor Giddens has also signed up Perry Anderson, the founder of *New Left Review*, from Los Angeles, and five visiting professors, including Richard Sennett of New York University, who will spend one term a year at the LSE's sociology department, and Oliver Hart, professor of economics at Harvard.

"It is possible to get people back from North America, but only if they are Europeans who want to come back to live," Professor



Swapping Yale
for the LSE



Homeward bound: Linda Colley (left) and her husband David Cannadine (right) who are returning from the US to take up posts in London. Centre: Anthony Giddens, director of the London School of Economics (centre below)



Post at London
University

Giddens said. American universities are still able to make "extraordinary" financial offers which cannot be matched in Britain. But he feels the "quality of intellectual community" has been "energised" by Mr Blair's attempt to promote new thinking about social change and the global economy.

In addition, the "attractions of London" as a place to live, recently highlighted by American hype about the "world's coolest city", can help recruit academics, especially younger ones. "But it is still a struggle

to keep the best people here," he added.

Professor Giddens has been touted as "Blair's guru", although he modestly denies that he is part of the inner circle. He has established himself as the prime theoretician of the "third way", a phrase which Mr Blair has used and which also cropped up in President Clinton's State of the Union address last month.

The phrase is used to mean "beyond left and right", which was the title of Professor Giddens' book, subtitled *The Future*

of Radical Politics, published in 1994, the year that Mr Blair became Labour leader. He contributed the opening chapter to a collection of essays edited that year by Mr Blair's chief policy adviser, David Miliband, called *Reinventing the Left*.

Professor Giddens took his "third way" message to the seminar convened by Mr Blair and Hillary Clinton at Chequers last November, and was invited back to take part in this month's follow-up session in the White House.

He is famous as the man who gave sociology intellectual respectability in the Seventies, and who was brave enough to set up a publishing house, Polity Press, which actually made money. He no longer drives a Porsche, however. He has now traded down to "more ecological bottom-of-the-range 1.8 litre Mercedes".

In December, he conferred an honorary degree on a former colleague, President Cardoso of Brazil, whom he cites as a prime example of the globalisation of the New Labour style of thinking.

The President, who was once a world-famous sociologist and espoused the "dependency theory" that Latin America could not develop until it had rejected capitalism, is now a born-again disciple of the radical centre who has written the introduction to a collection of Mr Blair's speeches in Portuguese.

"I got the introduction translated and I was really amazed when I realised it was straight-down-the-line New Labour," Mr Blair said in Washington.

But the "brainy Britannia" effect is not simply confined to politics and related subjects such as economics, sociology and history.

There are also tentative signs of a reverse brain-drain in sciences, funded in part by big corporations interested in the commercial application of breakthrough technologies.

Last month, Lord Sainsbury's Gatsby Foundation gave £10m to University College, London, to set up a neuroscience unit headed by Geoffroy Hinshaw, a former Cambridge don who is returning after 16 years in North America.

The Prince of Wales praises the magazine, which is sold by the homeless, saying: "We all owe a considerable debt to *The Big Issue*, not only because of the valuable chance it provides to some of the homeless people on our streets to take on a real job, but also because it helps to ensure that homelessness is kept at the forefront of our minds."

He adds that homelessness tends to be a symptom rather than a cause of people's problems, resulting from unemployment, low educational achievement and drug or drink problems.

"Even with a supportive home background young people today can find it hard to maintain their self-confidence against the enormous pressures of modern life," he writes.

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Welfare to work plans 'will hurt'

By Glenda Cooper
Social Affairs Correspondent

WELFARE to work programmes have been able to reduce welfare cases by nearly three quarters in some American states, according to new research published today.

But another study, also published today, warns that welfare reform will inevitably end up hurting some benefit claimants.

"If you are going to change the world so that people change their behaviour, you cannot do it simply through carrots. You have to do it predominantly through sticks," warns the controversial American sociologist Charles Murray, writing for the Social Market Foundation.

The Right-wing Adam Smith Institute looks at the results of welfare to work in America between January 1993 and July 1997. While most of the reform efforts came from a handful of state initiatives, the US Government also played a major role by passing an act which ended cash help for families with dependant children.

However, welfare to work was not an unqualified, with states such as Washington only registering a 2 per cent decline in case loads and Hawaii seeing a 36 per cent increase.

This forced even the most reluctant states to submit plans for welfare reform and in the 11 months since the Bill became law total welfare case loads went down by almost a sixth.

The most successful states include Wyoming, which saw a drop of 73 per cent in its welfare caseload. Wisconsin (58 per cent), Oregon (52 per cent) and Alabama (48 per cent).

The institute concluded that the successful ingredients for welfare reform must include willingness to extend benefits for a period after someone on welfare takes a job, an emphasis on personal individual responsibility, a reliance on private sector services whenever possible and an attempt to integrate social reform with welfare reform. In this way, welfare to work could become "the most successful public policy initiative of this century".

However, welfare to work was not an unqualified, with states such as Washington only registering a 2 per cent decline in case loads and Hawaii seeing a 36 per cent increase.

US imports 'spoiling childrens' TV'

By Paul McCann
Media Correspondent

American programmes is a narrowing of the range of shows children can watch. On average twice as many hours of cartoons are now aired than either factual or drama programmes, and the more children's programmes a channel shows, the more of it will be animation.

The use of animation is even heavier where a channel relies on an above average amount of American imports.

And it is not just American programmes that are being used. European broadcasters are increasingly turning to the heavy-handed scheduling strategies - like stripping shows at the same time every day of the week - that are used by American stations to keep children glued to the set.

The report's author, Professor Jay Blumler of Leeds University, calls on governments and the European Union to set targets for home-made programmes: "The public service tradition of serving children as all-round developing personalities and future citizens is under threat."

DAILY POEM

From "Bradford and Beyond"

By Gerard Benson

The back door faces north. The pail I left in the rain has forged a hoop of dirty ice, dry and hard as iron. The air's a vice that clamps the ribs and almost stops the breath. I'm planting garlic. Soil, forked over only yesterday, is rigid now; the spade strikes and sings aloud, as though it had hit stone. With cold red fingers I tamp in the moonlike cloches, carefully set them in fresh compost from my heap, which, even in this freezing season, is warm and sweet. I chop with my trowel at lumps, trying to form a tilth; kneeling in white rime I imagine summer's tossed lettuce, endives, capers - vinegar, olive oil.

This poem comes from Gerard Benson's new verse journal of a poet's working life and travels, which takes the form of 85 sonnets. *Bradford and Beyond* costs £9.95 from Flambard Press, Stable Cottage, East Fourstones, Hexham, Northumberland NE47 5DX.

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Native language lessons are a waste of time, says Swansea-born woman, who is prepared to take her battle to European Court. Louise Jury reports

Mother fights over lessons in Welsh

A MOTHER is fighting for the right to withdraw her three children from Welsh lessons which she argues are wasting their valuable learning time.

Swansea-born Christine Maguire is prepared to pursue her case to the European Court of Human Rights after she was told by the Welsh Office that the lessons were compulsory.

She claimed yesterday that to insist her children learn Welsh was an imposition by the minority of Welsh speakers in Wales on the 80 per cent who were out.

And she said the lessons left her children at a disadvantage compared with English children who had more time to concentrate on other, more important subjects such as English and maths.

Mrs Maguire, 34, a student nurse from Crynant, Neath, said: "I'm Welsh-born and bred, I'm certainly not anti-Welsh."

"If people want to learn Welsh and speak Welsh that's fine. There are plenty of opportunities. But in a democratic society, it is supposed to be majority rules, and that isn't so in Wales."

Mrs Maguire's two eldest children, Jade, 13, and Daniel, 12, attend the Llangatwg Comprehensive in Neath and her younger son, Mathew, eight, goes to a local primary.

She is particularly angry for Daniel, because he had a glue ear when younger and had to work very hard to catch up on schooling he missed.

"It is a subject of no particular benefit to him. Neither myself nor my husband or my family speak Welsh and he won't use it after school," she

said. "It's a struggle to learn it which he could do without, it's not really a necessary subject."

Since her complaint first became known locally, she has received numerous letters of support which she has welcomed. She is now looking for advice in how to take the case further.

"In the beginning, I felt very much alone making a stand because I know how strongly some people feel about Welsh," she said.

"But at the same time, my children are important to me. I've got to make a stand for them."

She said she had no regrets that although born in Wales to Welsh parents she could not speak the language herself.

A spokeswoman for the Welsh Office said Welsh was a national curriculum core subject in schools where Welsh is the main language for teaching and a foundation subject in others where it can be given up at the age of 14.

However, the law has been changed so that by the time Daniel Maguire, for example, reaches 14, Welsh will be a compulsory subject to the age of 16.

The spokeswoman said the Welsh Office had been unable to offer Mrs Maguire any advice on taking the matter to the European Court of Human Rights, but believed that the matter would not be "relevant" to that court.

The national curriculum was enshrined in law, so Mrs Maguire would have to prove that the legislation was flawed in some way, or that it infringed on her child's rights.



Early learning: Christine Maguire; who does not believe Welsh is a necessary subject, and Daniel, with Jade and Mathew behind. Photograph: Rob Stratton

Tobacco firm 'knew product was addictive'

By Jeremy Laurance
Health Editor

MPS ARE to be asked to investigate claims that Britain's biggest tobacco company knew 20 years ago that its profits depended on the addictive nature of cigarettes.

The claims are based on internal British American Tobacco papers presented in a US court case in Minnesota, which show that the company feared losing smokers, as they died or gave up, and considered developing alternative products that would also be addictive but produce on smoke.

It is the starkest evidence yet that the tobacco industry recognised that the success of its business was based on nicotine addiction.

The document, dating from 1979, is one of 10,000 released in the Minnesota case in which Medicaid, the US state organisation, is claiming the tobacco companies should pay the costs of treating tobacco related diseases.

Ash, the anti-smoking charity, will today call on the Commons health select committee to investigate the tobacco business so that the document and others like it can be released in the UK. Clive Bates, director of Ash, said: "The document shows the chilling logic of a company understanding that its whole business depends on addicting its customers to nicotine, but recognising that its harmful effects are a strategic threat to its customer base."

The memo, dated 28 August 1979, records discussions held among staff at BAT's research organisation in Southampton. It says the company is explicitly searching for a "socially unacceptable addictive product" involving a pattern of repeated

consumption; a product which is likely to involve repeated handling; the essential constituent is likely to be nicotine or a direct substitute for it; the product must be non-ignitable (to eliminate inhalation of combustion products and passive smoking).

The memo adds: "We also think that consideration should be given to the hypothesis that the high profits additionally associated with the tobacco industry are directly related to the fact that the customer is dependent on the product."

The tobacco industry has never publicly admitted that its products are addictive. Mr Bates said yesterday: "I wish every smoker could read this document. It is the language that is remarkable, taking as its starting point the addictiveness of the product and then explaining how the profits flow from that. It makes a mockery of the argument that smokers have a free choice whether to smoke. If they are made dependent on the product they don't have the freedom not to smoke."

Yesterday the Tobacco Manufacturers' Association was continuing to deny that smoking was addictive, and warned that taking a single document out of context was open to misinterpretation. A spokesman said 11 million people had given up smoking in the last 20 years in the UK undermining claims that the habit was addictive.

"What is addictive? Coffee, tea, sex and shopping are all said to be addictive. We refute the addiction argument and always have done."

He added that the document was "probably an exercise in formulating policy looking at all the various aspects of tobacco and the smoking habit".

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Britain 'in secret project to upgrade Trident'

By Steve Boggan

Suspicion is mounting that an updated version of Britain's Trident nuclear deterrent is being secretly developed without the knowledge of Parliament.

Documents uncovered under the American Freedom of Information Act indicate that British scientists are participating in plans to extend the life of Trident warheads by up to 40 years in a programme likely to cost hundreds of millions of pounds.

Any hopes anti-nuclear protesters might have harboured that Britain might disarm once

Trident became obsolete by 2020 will be dashed by the revelations. Indeed, no democratic debate on replacing Britain's nuclear deterrent will be necessary until 2050 if the programme is allowed to go ahead.

According to the documents released to the Natural Resources Defense Council, a respected American pressure group, Britain appears to be participating in a \$2bn US project entitled the "Stockpile and Stewardship Management Programme" intended to design, develop, manufacture and maintain nuclear weapons capability into the next century.

Given that there is a nuclear test ban in force, it will be argued that it is only sensible, and financially prudent, carefully to maintain weapons that have been successfully tested in the past. However, two other programmes taking place under the stewardship umbrella are causing anti-nuclear campaigners anxiety.

The two schemes, the "Stockpile Life Extension Program (SLEP)" and the Submarine Launched Ballistic Missile Warhead Protection Program (SWPP), appear to involve more than simple maintenance of missiles. The American re-

ports, and other evidence gathered by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, indicate that designs are being prepared for upgrading of missiles and a lengthening of their shelf life from 20 to 60 years.

A report on the findings by CND – which celebrates its 40th anniversary this week – will be used today to call for an urgent statement on the matter from the Prime Minister. A group of Labour MPs wants to find out if Trident is being replaced "through the back door".

The report, written by William Peden, CND's Parliamentary officer, says that the

SLEP scheme involves upgrading the American W76 warhead on which the British Trident warhead is based. A number of concerned Labour MPs believe all the evidence points to British involvement in an upgrade.

According to the released documents, and a US Department of Energy, Office of Defense Programs, publication dated 29 February 1996, there is a routine exchange of information between the US and UK as part of sales agreements relating to Trident. Seventeen British scientists were stationed in the US as at January 1997.

Several members of staff from Britain's Atomic Weapons Establishment at Aldermaston are currently working at the Los Alamos National Laboratory, where the first nuclear bomb was developed. And records show that the number of visits to America by British personnel involved in nuclear co-operation has increased from 110 in 1991 to 136 in 1995.

The CND report concludes: "It would be highly unlikely, given that British nuclear weapons have the same shelf life as their US equivalents, that we are not involved in US programmes designed to extend

nuclear warhead shelf life."

Academics are divided over whether an upgrade is taking place. Professor John Simpson, director of the Mountham Centre for International Studies at Southampton University, said the collected evidence did not point to one.

However, Professor Paul Rogers, head of the Bradford University Centre for Peace Studies, said he expected one to be under way, given that the Trident system will soon be Britain's only means of delivering a warhead.

"You would expect that, since we will have only one sys-

tem for the next 30 years, they will be working on ways of making it more flexible," he said. "At the very least, that amounts to an upgrade."

Alan Simpson, Labour MP for Nottingham South and one of the members who will table an early day motion in the House of Commons tomorrow, said: "Labour is committed to achieving a nuclear weapons-free world. A Trident upgrade programme hardly squares with this objective."

"Labour should cancel the project and plan to decommission nuclear weapons rather than upgrade them."

Two days
in a
30ft-deep
crater
with
only a
ticking
bomb
for
company
– then
Bang...



Out with a bang: Shrapnel hurtles skywards after detonation yesterday of the 1,000lb device. Right: Captain Peter Shields who led the bomb disposal team. Photographs: PA

A GIANT Nazi bomb which fell in a Wiltshire field more than 55 years ago was detonated yesterday in a blast which rocked houses more than a mile away.

Hundreds of sightseers gathered in a safe zone overlooking the field in Chippenham, as army bomb disposal experts carried out a controlled explosion on the 1,000lb device. They

had hoped to detonate the bomb shortly after 11.15am, but technical difficulties meant it was not until shortly after 1.05pm.

The blast sent a huge fountain of earth hundreds of feet into the sky and the explosion could be heard for several miles around. More than 1,000 people have spent the past two

nights away from their homes after the bomb – dropped in a Luftwaffe raid on the town in 1942 – was discovered on Thursday.

Detonation was carried out after a bomb disposal expert was forced to abandon attempts to defuse the 5ft long device – known as "Fat Boy" – when it began to sink deeper into

the 30ft crater on Saturday. People who gathered to watch the explosion were shocked at its force. Gillian Smith, 44, said: "I expected to hear a bit of a bang but I wasn't prepared for that. I saw a huge pile of dirt fly into the sky and I heard a rumble, but it seemed to take a few seconds for the explosion to reach us."

"It was like standing very close to a huge firework – it really shocked me. I have never seen a real bomb go off before and I don't really want to see another one."

People who were evacuated

from their homes were allowed to return yesterday afternoon. Police said the blast caused "very minimal" damage to houses within the evacuation zone. There were no reports of any structural damage to properties hit by shockwaves, and damage is thought to be limited to a few broken windows.

The farmer who first raised the alarm about the bomb said he watched the explosion with relief. Tony Crew, 62, who was a six-year-old boy when the shell was dropped near his parents' farmhouse, said: "Watching it made me think what it

would have done if it had gone off at the time. I watched the explosion from a friend's house and also on the television. It gave me a funny feeling and it really made me shiver ... I am very relieved it is all over – it has been a very trying weekend."

The army officer who spent two days trying to defuse the bomb told later how he had hoped to present the empty shell to the school being built on the field. Captain Peter Shields said: "This is a failure as far as I am concerned because we did not manage to render the bomb safe and prevent

the school with the carcass. However, it has produced an excellent result with no damage or loss of life."

The crater was very cramped – we had some form of safety route to escape if the clay came in, which it did on the odd occasion.

"It was a very difficult decision to explode it because everybody's safety is paramount in an operation like this. In this case, with a nine-metre depth and with a layer of rock above the bomb, we were lucky because we had the ideal conditions to send everything into the air."

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By Fran Abrams
Political Correspondent

CONTROVERSIAL to the last, Enoch Powell sparked his final political row yesterday as leading churchmen questioned his right to lie in state in Westminster Abbey.

Mr Powell, who died last week aged 85, was a warden of the nearby church of St Margaret's Westminster for almost 10 years. He will rest in the cathedral overnight tomorrow before his funeral on Wednesday.

Church authorities said they would afford the same honour to any regular worshipper, but the Bishop of Croydon, the Rev Wilfred Wood, said the move would give the politician a status he did not deserve.

Mr Powell had given respectability to racism with his attacks on the Black community, in particular with the 1968 speech in which he spoke of immigration leading to "rivers of blood".

Other leading figures in the Church of England supported Bishop Wood's view, but he was attacked by a number of Mr Powell's friends for displaying a lack of Christian charity.

Bishop Wood told the BBC's Sunday programme that

the politician had damaged good race relations. "I speak from within the black community and they know the fear that was generated among very vulnerable people as a result of Powell's ranting. The truth is that attempts to create a disciplined multi-ethnic society have been seriously undermined by his attacks on the black community," he said.

However, Conservative MPs rose to defend their former colleague, who later became an Ulster Unionist. Sir Patrick Connock, MP for Staffordshire South who will deliver an address at the funeral, said: "These clergymen have shown a singular lack of Christian charity and a bigoted narrowness. It makes one very sad that they should have done this at a

grieved," he said. Dr Tom Butler, the Bishop of Leicester, added that the decision to have the body resting in the Abbey overnight could upset ethnic minorities.

After his death, she said there would never be anyone so compelling. "He was magnetic ... he was one of those rare people who made a difference and whose moral compass led us in the right direction," she said.

A Communion service will be held at Westminster Abbey on Wednesday morning. A service will take place later at St Margaret's, followed by a service in Warwick, where the body will be buried.

time of sombre grief for Mr Powell's family." Ann Winter, Tory MP for Congleton, also attacked the criticism as "absolute rubbish".

Mr Powell had been a distinguished Parliamentarian for 38 years, she said. "I would have thought these people should have been praying for the repose of his soul rather than dragging up these issues. I utterly condemn these churchmen who have shown such a lack of Christian charity."

Local mayor Manfred Heinz wants £50m to revamp the crumbling jail from which more than 30 Allied officers successfully escaped between 1941 and 1945 and he is calling on British investors to help. The Legion said the fortress should be preserved as a memorial to the 1,500 prisoners it once housed and, although ruling out a direct donation, said it would not seek to stop anyone making one.

Colditz plea
THE Royal British Legion is backing calls from Germany for help to save Colditz, the notorious castle once used to imprison some of its members.

Ministers are due to clarify teachers' legal rights over dealing with disruptive or violent children, telling them they can use "reasonable force" and remain within the law.

But unions are concerned that teachers might be encouraged to intervene in dangerous situations.

Jackpot win

SIX winning tickets shared Saturday night's £13m National Lottery rollover jackpot. The winning numbers were 8, 13, 14, 17, 20, 28, and the bonus 10.

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Coventry* The Coventry Hill	£126	Huntingdon	£116
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Derby/Burton	£122	Leeds*	£128
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Epping	£124	Market Drayton	£120
Fareham	£126	Market Rasen	£120
Farnborough	£126	Market Rasen	£120
Glasgow	£126	Market Rasen	£120
Glasgow Airport	£126	Market Rasen	£120
Glasgow City	£126	Market Rasen	£120
Gloucester	£122	Market Rasen	£120
Grimbsy	£126	Market Rasen	£120
Guildford	£126	Market Rasen	£120
Havant	£126	Market Rasen	£120
Heywood	£122	Market Rasen	£120
Henley	£126	Market Rasen	£120
Hemel Hempstead	£126	Market Rasen	£120
High Wycombe	£124	Market Rasen	£120
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THE INDEPENDENT
MONDAY 16 FEBRUARY 1998
8

8/IRAQ CRISIS

Dreams fade in face of Kuwait's siege mentality



Raymond Whitaker returns after seven years to find the country stagnating in its oil wealth

IT LOOKS undistinguished: a double highway rising gently to a low escarpment which anywhere but in the flatness of Kuwait would barely register as a natural feature. Plastic bags caught on a wire fence shiver and snap in the breeze. A couple of battered kiosks sell cheap toys and fizzy drinks.

But on this spot in 1991 thousands of men met their deaths. Allied aircraft caught the fleeing Iraqi army at Mutla Ridge, the only point in Kuwait where vehicles cannot scatter across the desert to escape attack, and once the road was blocked, there was slaughter. By the time I got there the last bodies had been cleared, but their smell still lingered in the cruelly-named "traffic jam", a deadly scrapyard of blackened, riddled tanks, trucks, ambulances and cars. All around were scattered the pathetic booty of the Iraqi conscript: children's clothes, cassette tapes and women's shoes.

Mutla marks the divide between Kuwait then and now. To the south is Kuwait City, where the damage of war has been cleared away. Trashed and looted hotels and office blocks have been restored or replaced, an extravagant new official complex is being constructed on the waterfront and at the airport, where seven years ago the wreckage of a British Airways

North of Mutla Ridge it is different. On the sparsely-populated plain extending north and west to Iraq the results of the Gulf War can still be seen – roadside buildings are collapsed in rubble, a twisted communications tower lies flat on the ground and the wrecked

satellite farm we used as a landmark on the road to the border is still there.

At the al-Rawdatain oilfield a trail of black smoke rises from a solitary well flare, triggering memories of the hundreds of oil fires the Iraqis left behind in 1991. Driving down this road then, under a blacked-out sky supported by columns of smoke, the only light coming from the flames at their base, I thought it looked like nothing so much as a cathedral of Hell, and remembered what James II said when he saw the newly-built St Paul's. He called it "awful", meaning it was awfully inspiring; this was awful in both

senses. But the oil fires were extinguished more quickly than anyone expected, and after a difficult few years the economy is back to normal, or what passes for normality in a country where the 650,000 citizens, more than 90 per cent of whom work for the government, are outnumbered two to one by foreigners. It is a place where there is no need to create wealth – you can simply pump it up from under the ground.

The soothing flow of oil revenue has stilled the passions of 1991, when there was bitterness between Kuwaitis who had suffered the seven-month Iraqi occupation and those who had fled, including the ruling al-Sabah

family. Demands were heard for greater democracy – even votes for women – and more self-reliance. In the end most of the anger was turned outwards, at Palestinian residents in particular. Yasser Arafat's flamboyant support for President Saddam meant that they were tortured, harassed, and, according to human rights organisations, murdered by death squads often led by members of the al-Sabah

family. Undoubtedly many Palestinians collaborated with the Iraqis, but nearly all have been expelled anyway, along with citizens of other countries which sided with Baghdad, such as Jordan and Sudan. Their places have been taken mainly by Egyptians, staunch members of the 1991 Gulf alliance, while most of the menial work is performed by Indians, Pakistanis and Filipinos.

The number of expatriate workers has risen almost to



Cloudy horizons: A Sea King and a Lynx helicopter of the Royal Navy in action over Kuwait during the Gulf War in 1991, and (above left) an aircraftsman mounts guard on an RAF Tornado in the desert last week

Photographs: Al Cambell, John Cassidy/PA

in recognition of the role many played in resisting the Iraqis, but some 114,000 remain in limbo.

The Prime Minister, Sheikh Saad Abdallah al-Sabah, in his 60s, is considered diligent but indecisive, and his health is poor – recently he spent seven months in Britain recovering from a colon operation. "Basically there is stagnation," said a Western diplomat.

Since 1991 the traditional siege mentality of Kuwaitis, a minority in their own country, has been reinforced, and not only by the behaviour of President Saddam. The influx of British and American forces, pursuing a political goal which has next to no regional support, has heightened sensitivities. Once again, it seems, Kuwait is having to pay foreigners to do what it cannot manage itself, and places like Mutla Ridge are a warning that the cost may be more than financial.

Letters, page 14

Judicial powerhouse that will safeguard the new world order

Moves are under way to establish an international criminal court. Rupert Cornwell examines the options

est of centuries. A permanent UN court to bring individuals to account was deemed, in that most mealy-mouthed of diplomatic epithets, "impracticable".

So all we have today is the International Court of Justice at the Hague, essentially a civil court dealing with disputes between countries, plus two ad hoc international criminal tribunals,

on the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda. The first has been at best modestly successful. Of the second, the less said the better.

The failings of the present system – the delays, the disputed powers – have only underlined the need for a permanent international institution to try suspected war criminals in cases where national judicial systems have been unable or unwilling to do the job. And the five-year process of creating one has reached a surprisingly advanced stage.

In just 10 days time in London, EU officials will review the latest ICC treaty draft. In mid-March a final preparatory conference will be held in New York, attended by 140 or more countries. Theo in Rome this summer the foreign ministers will settle a draft treaty. Upon ratification, an International Criminal Court will become law.

The question is, how powerful – in other words, how independent – will it be? Will it be able to instigate investigations and hand down indictments?

a world that neither shares nor wants them. The most heartening aspect of the current debate is the support for a "strong" court from Third World countries, several of whom have suffered human rights abuses which would have landed their perpetrators in its dock.

Indeed a permanent international court could help new democracies in that most difficult of tasks – dealing with their own state criminals of the recent past in a manner that is something more than naked vengeance. And for once Britain, instinctively suspicious of anything that smacks of idealism, is on the side of the angels.

We may slavishly adhere to the US-patented Rambo school when it comes to Iraq. But on the matter of the ICC we have broken with the Americans. For that, thank the "ethical" foreign policy – founded on principle, cleansed of moral squalor – which is meant to define this Government's dealings with the world. Unlike Saudi Arabia and pending arms deals, the court is 24-carat ethics with no practical disadvantages.

Of course there is no guarantee the ICC will work. The US and France may yet manage to emasculate it. A host of other questions remain: to what arm of the UN the court will be accountable; whether trials in absentia will be permitted, and how to prevent a prosecution if it endangered peace and security. Absolute idealism can be too expensive a luxury. But if it causes even one wicked leader or his henchmen to think again, over even one intended hostility, the court will already have proved its worth.

An Iraqi honour guard marks the seventh anniversary of the bombing of Samiriyah shelter, Baghdad. Photograph: AP

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هذا من الأصل

Cook sees Montserrat's agony for himself

By Phil Davison
in Gerald's Bottom, Montserrat

Defying volcanic ash clouds that forced his staff to don surgical-style nose masks, the Foreign Secretary, Robin Cook, toured the Caribbean island of Montserrat on Saturday to see the plight of its residents.

As he peered from the door of a helicopter hovering close to the crater of the Soufrière Hills volcano, he witnessed a series of small eruptions, including a pyroclastic flow of dark grey gas and a number of rockfalls on to uninhabited areas. So bad was the ash cloud that his helicopter pilot called off a planned sight-seeing touch-down at the island's international airport, destroyed by an eruption last year and still blanketed in ash.

Declining to wear a nose mask, the Foreign Secretary was clearly shocked and moved when the helicopter swung round the crater into sight of the devastated and evacuated cap-

ital. Plymouth, now resembling a lunar landscape. "It was dramatic and particularly distressing to see for myself the devastation caused to the south of the island," he said later. "It was horrifying in terms of its impact and devastation."

Unusual winds during his stay gave Mr Cook experience of the conditions the remaining islanders are living in. Ash clouds drifted over the northern "safe zone," showering him with volcanic ash. Ash in the air proving a more immediate health threat to Montserratians than the danger of being hit by a flow of gas and rock.

The locals were clearly more interested in the England-West Indies Test and ignored the visitor during his five-hour stay. Most refugees did not even leave their tents or shacks at the Gerald's Bottom camp as his helicopter arrived from Antigua. Many said later that dust thrown up by helicopter landings, yards from their makeshift homes, adds to their hardship.

Allen did not budge, stuck out his hand to the Foreign Secretary, said "nice to meet you" and turned back to the match.

That was relatively polite compared with a letter given Mr Cook by a group of Montserratians who accused Britain of "criminal negligence" by not giving islanders details of any evacuation drill. He appeared to admit there was a plan for getting all 3,200 remaining residents off - the population was 11,000 before the first eruption in 1995 - but only if the volcano posed a clear threat to the still-inhabited area. Many residents suspect Britain is trying to squeeze them off the island. "Britain has no wish, no intention, no secret plan to abandon the island," Mr Cook said. The respected local newspaper editor Bennett Roach responded: "There is no secret plan, it is quite open." He accused Whitehall of dragging its feet on housing and investment in the hope that more people would leave.

Hearing the Test commentary from behind one of the sheets, Mr Cook asked the score. "135 for seven," came the reply. Mrs Allen pulled aside the sheet to show her husband Tom, flat on his back on the bed watching a tiny TV, with his three-year-old grandson Delston asleep beside him. Mr



Lunar landscape: The docks in Plymouth, capital of Montserrat, now devastated and evacuated. Photograph: Lewis Barry

Stake in the future for Cape wine workers

By Mary Braid
in Cape Town

ANZILL ADAMS grew up hating the South African wine industry. Under apartheid his family was forcibly removed to the Cape's wine lands to provide cheap Coloured (mixed-race) labour for white-owned estates.

They were a docile workforce - the *dop* system, by which workers were paid partly in alcohol, saw to that. Each shift started with half bottle of wine and wine breaks punctuated the day. Alcoholism was rife. "It was such an exploitative industry," says Mr Adams, an anti-apartheid activist who became a community worker for vineyard labourers. The end of apartheid transformed the business. Freed from sanctions, South African wines have expanded to meet demand.

But concerns about racism and exploitation persisted. Demands that Coloured and black workers be brought into management and ownership of the industry have been answered by two winemakers with estates near Paarl. Alan Nelson, of Nelson's Creek, and Charles Back of Fairview, have sold or gifted land to labourers set to become the first in South Africa to make their own wine from grapes grown on their own land. The off-licence chain Oddbins has bought up the Fairview workers' first consignment and its ideologically sound dimension is expected to be big when it hits UK shelves this summer under its own label, Fair Valley, being designed by the cartoonist Ralph Steadman.

The Nelson's Creek workers' label, Klein Begin, expected to depict estate workers and their families, is being designed by a local artist. Two experiments do not make a revolution but the development has been enough to bring Mr Adams on to Mr Nelson's payroll. Both deals rely heavily on the goodwill and liberal tendencies of the estate owners. Mr Nelson, an advocate, gave 25 acres of land to 16 estate families as a reward for turning a bankrupt estate into a success story.

When he bought Nelson's Creek a decade ago it was a shambles. Half the workers were so reliant on alcohol they left when he abolished the *dop* system. He promised the remainder they would be repaid if they turned the estate around. They did, largely unaided. Mr Nelson had a full-time business to tend to and initially there was no money for a farm manager.

Mr Back's family have owned Fairview for three generations and he is one of the most successful estate owners in South Africa.

Mr Back admits that he is strongly motivated by a sense of justice. The industry, he says, should be compensating for the past. But the shy, gruff Mr Back is more comfortable playing up the business sense of a sale in which he purchased 17.4 hectares of land for 59 workers and sold them it at half price. The workers paid using government grants.

"My job is to make good quality wine, at the right price," says Mr Back who exports 30 per cent of his wines. "Exploitation does not help the quality of wine." Apartheid, he argues, killed productivity because the black man, quite rightly, wondered why he should make the white man richer. He says wryly that in the black man's situation he would not have lifted a shovel except to clobber the white *boss*.

Mr Back argues that helping workers secure their own land, to build houses on as well as grow grapes, undermines unhealthy paternalism fostered by apartheid. He wins because he offloads social responsibility for workers. They win because they gain control over their lives. No longer can the roof over their heads disappear with their job. It is a moot point with growing mechanisation expected to bring cuts to vineyard workforces. It remains to be seen whether either deal is a model for reshaping the industry. In both, labourers will at first rely at least in part on grapes from their boss's estates. They will also have to use his production facilities. In the wine industry it can be decades before a profit is turned. There are also legalistic teething problems.

The workers of Nelson's Creek are already appealing to the government against crippling gift taxes which Mr Back's employees avoided because they bought the land, albeit at a bargain price. But it is a start, which has brought hopes to thousands of vineyard workers.

For Awie Adolf, a worker at Fairview, it is above all a chance for something better for his children.

His colleague, John du Preez, says land and home ownership is a dream come true.

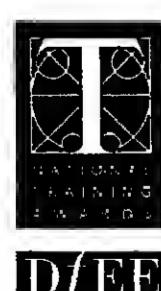
"Charles wanted to do this for us," he says. "But it is good for him and it is good for us. We deserve it. We have worked hard."

It is an attitude of which Mr Back heartily approves.

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Wealth talks loudest in race for California

NOT FOR nothing is Al Checchi, candidate for Governor of the seventh largest economy in the world, nicknamed 'Al Checkbook'. A former chairman and part owner of a major US airline, he has pledged to spend a sizeable chunk of his half-billion dollar fortune to satisfy his appetite for high political office. "No one," observes his top political adviser, "can match Al Checchi's wallet."

California this year promises to be the scene of the most expensive state elections in American history. In the races for governor and a US Senate seat, which got underway in earnest this month, Mr Checchi has taken a leading role in what some are calling a "battle of the millionaires".

The governorship falls vacant this year with the forced retirement of Republican Pete Wilson, limited by law to two four-year terms. Mr Checchi's multi-millions have already made him the man to beat. It is said, though he is a political novice who has admitted failing to vote in four elections since 1993.

The chief Republican challenger to the single Senate seat up for grabs, meanwhile, is a car alarm tycoon Darrell Issa. His business is worth a reported \$70m (£4.4m) a year, and he wants to abolish the US Inter-

Tim Cornwell in Los Angeles on the rise of multi-millionaires in politics

national Revenue Service, and has strong views on the use of ground troops against Iraq.

Since the advent of television, it has never been possible to run a cheap campaign in California. The state has 30 million people, with an estimated 20 million electorate, and 12 major media markets with their own television stations and newspapers.

But by British standards, the sums now washing around in California look like funny money. Combined spending by candidates in the governor's race alone could well run close to \$100m.

Mr Checchi worked for the Disney company and a hotel chain, but claims chiefly to have turned Northwest Airlines around as its co-chairman.

As a businessman turned politician, he fits the mould of Texan maverick Ross Perot, and Republican publisher Steve Forbes, who ran for the White House in 1996 and is planning a bid in 2000. These men claim their money gives them independence from other moneyed interests. "You don't have to be a politician to succeed in

politics, has no money of his own; in two years of fund-raising, he has raised a respectable \$5m, with major donors including actor Michael Douglas.

For Mr Checchi that is small change. He has already spent \$9m, mostly on television commercials aimed at the 95 per cent of Californians who didn't know him from Adam. They mix hard-nosed proposals like the death penalty for child molesters with shots of Mr Checchi and family at the beach. Worth \$550m, he is prepared to spend a tenth of that, he has said.

The other Democrat in the governor's race is a US Congresswoman, Jane Harman, a moderate centrist from Southern California. She may be a contender by virtue of a husband rumoured to be worth \$100m or more.

"It becomes an arms race, that's the closest simile that one can use," said Herbert Alexander, a California political science professor and campaign finance expert. "This year will be an arms race, if Hartman puts up a tough fight."

One of the biggest problems of modern US politics, he said, is wealthy individuals from the business world bumping veterans who've worked their way up. "You don't want a plutocracy running your government," he said.



On the scene: Hunters from all over France marching past the Eiffel Tower during their weekend protest. Photograph: Reuters

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Pro-hunt protesters bring Paris to a halt

By John Lichfield
in Paris

MORE THAN 150,000 people from all over France marched through Paris at the weekend to demonstrate against the European Union.

The principal target of the largest march in France for several years was not the single currency, or national sovereignty. It was an obscure, 19-year-old directive which limits the hunting season for migratory waterfowl throughout the EU.

The demonstrators were rural hunters who have been persuaded by their local federations (and populist politicians, including the far-right National Front) that Brussels wants to abolish their sport. They reserved the second barrel of their protest for the French environment minister, Dominique Voynet, accused, unfairly, of being in league with Brussels.

The colourful protest – a pack of hounds and a wild boar were among the marchers – passed off peacefully. The only violent incident was an attack on a brave woman who mounted a solitary counter-protest on behalf of French wildlife: she was showered in empty beer cans. The National Front had a contingent at the march, but so did the Communist Party.

The colour of protest – a

convincing its supporters that Brussels, and Ms Voynet, leader of the French Green Party, have a secret agenda to abolish hunting.

For weeks rural France has been in a ferment of anticipation – and intimidation – at the Paris march. Hunters in many areas were warned that their permits would be cancelled unless they were seen in Paris. Transport to the capital was provided free for those who could not afford to pay.

In many ways, this is a classic town-country confrontation, similar to the controversy over fox-hunting in Britain. A poll last week showed that 60 per cent of French people, predominantly those living in towns, disapproved of hunting and would like to see it abolished. On the other hand, one bearded Breton demonstrator said on Saturday that Ms Voynet "must understand that nature belongs to those who live in it and not to people, like her, locked up in their offices all day."

Few Parisians turned out to watch the march. In any case, the city was semi-deserted. A two-week school holiday began last Friday and a large proportion of Parisians had left the city, as usual, to go into the mountains, or the countryside.

Bus is a big drag for West Coast addicts

By Tim Cornwell
in Los Angeles

Harassed smokers in Half Moon Bay, one of the most popular surfing spots in north California, have been offered a refuge – a red British double-decker bus. California banned smoking in bars on 1 January. Some landlords opened smoking patios and decks, amid yowls of protest about the nature reserves.

But at Cameron's Inn, one of several British pubs in California, owner Cameron Palmer found a different solution. "We do have a certain number of customers that do smoke, and like to smoke, especially when they are having a beer. So being the owner I started getting a little worried about what's going to happen to business when this law comes into effect."

Fulfilling a long-held dream, he bought a 1966 Bristol bus and parked it on his property. The way the law is written, there can be no smoking inside an enclosed area, and no work force allowed to endure the dangers of second-hand smoke.

But there was apparently nothing to stop patrons strolling across to a vehicle, beer and cigarette in hand. For those who have ever endured the stale smoke and butt-laden top floor of a London bus, this is less than a fantasy. But Mr Palmer pulled out every other seat and made tables, carpeted the bus, and put in TV and stereo. "It's really quite comfortable in there now, on both levels, and its working out fabulously," he said.

It is also featured on his website www.cameronsinn.com.

The pub seats about 100, and serves British beer. Mr Cameron, the son of a Newcastle native, also has several British regulars, among them Richard Aloum, from London, who runs a chain of local restaurants. "Quite often the party from the bar transfers into the bus, depending on the people that are out there," said Mr Aloum. "It's not somewhere where you are a social pariah if you're sitting outside." Once in a while, he reported, the evening ends in a nostalgia trip to the local curry house.

100 dead in Cameroon rail tragedy

By Emmanuel Tumanjeng
in Yaounde

Clean-up crews were searching yesterday for the cause of a train derailment and explosion that left as many as 100 people dead on the southern outskirts of Cameroon's capital.

Rescue workers were still gathering bodies from the scene early yesterday and sending them to a nearby military base for identification. Government figures indicated the toll was at least 84, although doctors and the city coroner's office said the number was about 100. The crash occurred on Saturday after two oil tanker wagons were detached from a train and derailed while rolling loose on the tracks, said a police officer investigating the accident. The tankers ruptured and began spilling fuel, said police investigator Robert Tati Nlem.

The police officer's son was among the victims in the explosion. State-controlled television on Saturday reported the tanker cars ruptured after colliding with a second train.

هذا من الأصل

Deaths cast shadow over Indian election

By Peter Popham
in New Delhi

STILL IN shock after bombing atrocities in the south left more than 50 people dead over the weekend, Indians began voting in their 12th general election today.

On Saturday evening, 17 bombs went off in the textile city of Coimbatore in Tamil Nadu, killing 47 people and leaving more than 200 injured. The bombs sparked off widespread rioting and looting, and on Sunday six more people died when they tried to throw a bomb at police and it went off prematurely.

No group has claimed responsibility for the explosions, but police suspect Muslim fundamentalists to be behind them. Their target was a rally of the Hindu nationalist party, the BJP, which has a deeply antagonistic relationship with India's Muslim minority. The BJP was the power behind the demolition of a mosque on a Hindu holy site in Ayodhya in 1992.

During the present campaign the BJP leadership have gone out of their way to try to assure Muslims of their kindly intentions, but the party's philosophy remains as chauvinistic as ever. Its hardline president, Lai Krishna Advani, was meant to be addressing the rally in Coimbatore at which the explosions occurred. He was saved from harm because his plane was three hours behind schedule.

Coimbatore was a smoking wreck over the weekend, the streets littered with broken glass and burned out vehicles, but it was not the only trouble spot. In Tripura in the north-east, three Congress party campaign workers were killed when a bomb they were making exploded. Secessionist violence is endemic in the north-east, and two candidates were murdered

there in recent days. In 34 constituencies in the impoverished and lawless northern state of Bihar, where so-called "booth-capturing" – the seizing and stuffing of ballot boxes – is a common problem, troops have been ordered to shoot on sight anyone obstructing the democratic process.

Until the recent spate of violence, this was shaping up to be one of India's tamer elections. Enthusiasm had been dampened both by the fact that this is the second election in less than two years, and the fear that it will be just as inconclusive as the last one. But as the first of several polling days approached – 222 of the 545 constituencies will vote today, and all but two of the rest over the next four Mondays – passions have begun to rise.

The chief rivals for power are the nationalistic BJP, once again hoping to oust Congress decisively and replace them as India's natural party of government; Congress, steadily weakened over the past decade but with its prospects improved, no one can say how much, by the furious bout of campaigning by Sonia Gandhi over the past month; and the United Front, a coalition of centre-left parties which has held power for most of the past two years.

But additionally there are 36 regional parties and hundreds of smaller groupings, all jostling for power and influence. Congress has ruled India for all but five of the past 45 years, but with its long, slow decline, dozens of caste- or community-based parties have sprung into existence. Anyone who would rule at the centre must strike deals with some of these. This fact was borne home to the BJP after the election in 1996 when it gained the largest number of seats in the election and formed the government but failed to strike up



In step: Members of the Communist Party of India on a campaigning parade in Khaerpur, Tripura state, where voting begins today. Photograph: AP

any alliances and was brought down by a no-confidence motion less than a fortnight later.

The BJP is not about to make such a mistake again, and along with all the other big parties they have been feverishly making alliances over the weeks of the campaign. The BJP, for example, which is chronically

weak in the south, has climbed into bed with a regional party, the AIADMK, led by a former film star called Jayalalitha who, as chief minister of Tamil Nadu, was allegedly guilty of large-scale corruption, and is facing prosecution for these offences. She has already spent a considerable time behind bars, but

has yet to face trial. Nonetheless, her "vote-bank" in the state remains large and robust, and the BJP is therefore glad to make friends with her. For her part, she is gambling on the BJP becoming the ruling party and ensuring that the cases pending against her are filed in the rubber-hilt.

Such naked and cynical opportunism is a new tangent for the BJP, which until recently has prided itself on being the one party of principle. Now it is going the same pragmatic and unifying way as its rivals.

Yet despite such desperate measures, the latest opinion

polls make it appear unlikely that the BJP will be able to achieve their definitive breakthrough. Nor, it appears, will Congress suffer its ultimate demise. Most analysts expect that the upshot of the election will be another hung parliament, and another fragile coalition.

Strike makes trains run on time

By Andrew Gumbel
in Rome

THE ITALIAN state railways had strange advice for their passengers this weekend. Take the bus. Or rent a car. Anything, as long as it didn't involve using one of their services. "Please don't take the train," a company statement pleaded on Saturday. "We advise you, if possible, to put off any journey you were planning to take with us."

The Italian railways are well known for their lack of punctuality, their vulnerability to strikes and cancellations, their extravagant ability to lose money and even, in recent months,

their embarrassing record of breakdowns and derailments. But nothing has ever led them to tell passengers to stay away.

The reason for this act of fatalism was the threat of a rogue 24-hour strike by station-masters. Nothing strange in that, you might think, since one group of railway workers or another is nearly always creating industrial action and creating havoc on the lines.

Usually, management is confident of running at least a reasonable percentage of scheduled trains. In theory, a skeleton service is guaranteed by a legally binding agreement between management and the unions.

But in this case the station-masters refused to listen to reason and were even threatening to ignore any injunction slapped on them by the Transport Minister, Claudio Burando, ordering them to postpone the protest "over their contracts."

But the trains ended up running after all. Barely 5 per cent of them were disrupted as the strike collapsed in the first few hours. Managers frantically sought to take back their warning, but it had been so effective that it was too late. "My train ran on time. More punctually than usual, in fact," reported one passenger. "The only thing was, it was nearly empty."

AN EXPLOSION on a bus in the central Chinese city of Wuhan killed at least 16 people at the weekend, leading to speculation that it could have been caused by a bomb. Saturday morning's blast came just five days ahead of the first anniversary of the death of Deng Xiaoping, the architect of China's reform era.

The Wuhan authorities would not comment on the likely cause of the explosion, and refused to say whether it appeared to be a bomb or an accident. But the official *Guangzhou Daily* in a front-page story yesterday said: "Police initially suspect the explosion was caused by lawless elements plant-

ing explosives on the electric-powered bus." It did not offer any suggestion about who these lawless elements might be. At least 30 people were also injured, when the blast ripped apart the bus as it approached a bridge over the Yangtze river.

China was already tightening security ahead of next month's annual meeting of parliament, the National People's Congress, which starts on 5 March. The police are on guard against protests from both Muslim Uighur separatists and the growing ranks of the urban unemployed. A year ago, Muslim Uighur separatists in the far western Xinjiang province

planted three bombs on buses in the provincial capital Urumqi, killing nine people. Those explosions took place on the day of Mr Deng's funeral.

Over the past year there have also been a number of bombs set by disgruntled laid-off state enterprise workers, including three small devices last March in Peking, one of which was placed on a bus.

However, there have also been several explosions caused by Chinese illegally transporting large quantities of explosives by trains and buses for use in mining or industry, and it is possible that the Wuhan blast was such a case.

During last month's Chinese New Year holiday, railway stations around China displayed posters with graphic photographs of people accidentally killed on trains because passengers had taken such explosive materials on board.

Wuhan does not seem an obvious target for the Uighurs, who would be more likely to choose targets in Peking or Xinjiang. The central Chinese city does have a rising number of unemployed, as state factories have shed large numbers of employees. However, if Saturday's blast was a bomb, it could also be a case of an individual Chinese with a grievance.

Troops shoot dead Indonesian rioters

By Richard Lloyd Parry

THE CRISIS in Indonesia claimed its first victims over the weekend as troops shot and killed civilians in escalating riots over the rising price of food.

At least five people died and hundreds were arrested in riots and looting involving thousands of people in more than a dozen towns.

In Brebes, 125 miles east of Jakarta on the island of Java, soldiers shot dead two men who threatened them with axes and steel bars, according to the government-run Antara news agency. In the nearby town of Losari, one man was trampled to death, and two

other fatal shootings were reported on the island of Lombok. Riots were also reported on Sumatra and Sulawesi in a nationwide expression of discontent which the government appears powerless to prevent. The violence, which began in East Java in the new year and has increased in frequency as grocery prices and unemployment rise, is also occurring uncomfortably close to Jakarta.

In Pamanukan, 60 miles east of the capital, troops in riot gear and automatic rifles were patrolling streets lined with burned out shops yesterday, almost all of them owned by members of the Chinese minority. According to witnesses, "If the rioters try to hurt my

men, I will not tolerate it," the military chief of Central Java, Major General Mardiyantri, told Antara after the killing in Brebes. "There had been no direct order to shoot rioters on the spot. But officers are warranted to shoot if they find themselves in danger."

It was the first time in the current wave of riots that the Indonesian armed forces are known to have fired on their own people, and marks a sinister turning point for a force which, despite its size, is small by comparison with the country as a whole – 300,000 men, plus another 174,000 police, in a population of more than 200 million people and 17,500 islands spread across 3,000 miles.

Tension seems certain to escalate in the run up to next month's presidential elections, a ritual event which will almost certainly elect President Suharto for his seventh consecutive term. Mass gatherings will be banned before and after the meeting of the People's Consultative Assembly, a government-appointed body which meets to choose the next president.

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Cliffhanger in Cyprus poll

CONSERVATIVE incumbent Glafcos Clerides edged ahead of independent challenger George Iakovou in Cyprus's cliff-hanger presidential election. With 26.2 per cent of votes counted, Mr Clerides had 51 per cent compared to Mr Iakovou's 49 per cent. Pollsters had predicted a close vote to pick the man who will steer the island through talks on possible reunification and EU membership negotiations after an inconclusive first round. An independent exit poll earlier predicted victory for Clerides by a two percentage point margin.

— Reuters, Nicosia

32 massacred

ARMED men killed 32 people in three weekend attacks, security forces said, adding that members of a civilian self-defence group were among those slain in one massacre. There was no immediate claim of responsibility for the attacks, but authorities lay the blame for violence wacking Algeria on Islamic insurgents trying to topple the military-backed regime.

— AP, Algiers

Junta on run

THE Nigerian-led West African force that ousted Sierra Leone's junta tightened its grip on the capital and its commander vowed to pursue leaders of the defeated regime. General Timothy Simelela said his troops were still rounding up junta officials. Those already seized abroad will be brought back to Freetown to await the return from exile of elected President Ahmad Tejan Kabbah.

— Reuters, Freetown

Crackdown

GEORGIAN security forces have detained several members of a group which tried to kill President Eduard Shevardnadze last Monday. Georgian television said: "Security forces continue operations to detain the rest. All airports, railway stations and roads are under control and law enforcement bodies in neighbouring countries have been alerted."

— Reuters, Tbilisi

Death threat

A SERB group calling itself the Black Hand has threatened attacks against German businessmen and diplomats in Yugoslavia. Germany was vilified by hard-line Serbs during the conflicts in Bosnia and Croatia, partly because Germany's was the first government to recognise Croatia's independence from Serbia-dominated Yugoslavia in the early 1990s.

— AP, Bonn

An exceedingly good Cake

CAKE. Chocolate, carrot, fruit, a Sara Lee at midnight, still deep-frozen but perfectly manageable with mittens and a saw. Delicious, all of them. A lovely thing, cake. And now there is Jonathan, who is a lovely thing, too. Very tall, 6ft 3. Dark brown eyes. Hair almost black. You're a lovely thing, Jonathan.

"Thank-you," he says. "But I don't think so." You don't think so? "I was very chubby as a little boy. My two brothers used to get me on the floor, grab the fat round my tummy, and shout 'FLAB!' That sort of thing never goes away." You were traumatised, then? "Oh no. I don't despise the way I look. It's just not a particular source of joy." Actually, I say, now I think about it, you're not so great. Probably, you should take what you can get which reminds me, it's Valentine's Day tomorrow and, strangely enough, I seem to be free in the evening. "Me, too," cries Nicola, the photographer, who may be quite a bit blonder and thinner than me. Nicola, don't you have another job you need to rush to NOW? "No. Why?" Jonathan Cake, 30, was a member of RSC. Then he was the black polo-necked Cadbury Milk Tray Man in the telly ads. Now, he's Oswald Mosley in the Channel 4 four-part drama that began last week. There's been a lot of fuss about this series. It's a revisionist, glamourised account, many Jews have claimed. It concentrates on Mosley as a dashing, charismatic womaniser (... all because the lady loves stiff salutes?) and a gleaming-eyed lounge lizard, rather than the monstrous anti-Semitic and fascist he was. In short, if it's Mosley the blackshirt, then it's Mosley in the Ozwald Boetang black-shirt. Still, Jonathan's very good, and immensely up-and-coming. Does he like the attention? It's quite scary, actually, he says, especially when the tabloids start pursuing you with some vigour. Yes, he's been pursued a lot over recent weeks. During the filming of Mosley, he fell for his co-star, Jemma Redgrave, and so ditched his long-term fiancée, the actress Olivia Williams, just a few weeks before their wedding. He can understand why people are interested. "It's like Elton John once said. You pick up *The Sun*. The front page says: 'Elton John has sex with hamster, page 2. Pictures of Elizabeth Taylor's naked bottom, page 6.' You think: 'It's outrageous. I'm going to sue. But before I do so, I'll just have a quick look at page 6.' It's just human nature."

Reports that Olivia was "distraught" are not true, however. "We phoned each other up and had a good laugh about that." Reports that Jemma is yet another of those luminously beautiful Redgrave girls against which someone like me stands no chance whatsoever are possibly true, though. Still, it's a nice sunny afternoon and Jonathan's about to open a bottle of wine and if you can ditch once, you can ditch again and Nicola might be thinner, Jonathan, but take away her tripod and she's nothing. Some of the attention has been nice, yes. Indeed, just the other morning, he got to do Richard and Judy, which was fun. "A man with a didgeridoo was on." Oh, that will have been Richard, I say. "Plus Gilbert O'Sullivan was wandering around somewhere." It wasn't too arduous. "Almost as soon as you're on the couch you're off, because they have to cut to an item on impotence."

Talking of which, there's a scene in this week's episode of *Mosley* when Jonathan has to tot naked out of the sea. Although it's supposed to be San Tropez, it was actually Plymouth on a cold, September afternoon. "And you know what very cold water does to the male genitalia." I do indeed, I say. I was sent that episode on tape and, funny enough, when it came to that particular scene I happened to fall on the freeze-frame button. "Oh God! You didn't!" It was an accident, I explain. "Funny business, this," he sighs. "I mean when I next go to the gym is everyone going to be thinking that's the hole of the telly with the tiny penis? If he has one, that is? OH GOD ..."

Jonathan doesn't have a home as such, although he's looking to buy in north London. Meanwhile, he's staying in the top half of actress Maria Aitken's house in south London. He's cat-sitting while she's in New York. The cat is Molly, who is fluffy and a gorgeous smoky grey and spends all her time at the French windows.



DEBORAH ROSS TALKS TO JONATHAN CAKE



mewing coquettishly at passing tons. "Terrible tart, Molly. She'll show her pencil sharpener to anyone." Maria's son, the actor Jack Davenport who starred as Miles in *This Life*, lives in the basement flat. I interviewed Jack here last summer. He's a lovely boy, too, Jack's promised to come up for a drink, says Jonathan. Nicola says, "ohhh, lovely." Nicola, haven't you FINISHED YET? "No. Why?" Cake's his real name, yes. No, he doesn't know where it's from although he should find out, because everyone's always asking about it. He was born Jonathan James Cake in Rye-on-Sea which, he says, is just along the coastline from the hoisted political intrigue that is Worthing. His father was an importer of glassware until he retired and embarked upon an English degree at the same time Jonathan was studying English at Cambridge. "He'd phone me up and say: 'Now, about Yeats ...'" His mother was an administrator at the sixth-form college he attended in Worthing. We reminisce about growing up in the Seventies. "Our house had a white, leatherette bar with bar stools," he boasts. Yes, going out to eat did always involve avocado sandwich followed by a steak and a big slice of black forest gateau. "I'm still quite a sucker for black forest gateau," he confesses. Like I said, cake rarely disappoints. There were no obvious theatrical influences. It wasn't a theatrical household. Neither of his brothers were ever remotely interested in drama or anything (The older one is now a lawyer while the younger

one is an English teacher in Brazil). Jonathan's first theatrical experience? Seeing Christopher Biggins in pantomime "where I was called up on stage, and given a plastic daffodil". And you found Christopher Biggins inspiring in some way? "Actually, I have nothing but respect for Christopher Biggins. He's the Sultan of The Turn." We talk a bit about Windsor Davies, who plays Lloyd George in Mosley. I'm sorry, I say, but every time he stands up in the House I expect him to say: "Sing Loft, you lovely boy," before breaking into "Whispering Grass". "Really? I think he's brilliant! I'm very sad to hear you say that." He looks truly upset. He seems very generous-natured.

He was one of those kids who loved the sound of his own voice, was this chubbiness always reciting poems and all that. He went to weekly drama classes locally, then, as a teenager, spent his summers in London with the National Youth Theatre. He became horribly actor-ish for a while, he says. "I was the Donald Wolfitt of my sixth form, always spouting this horrific, bombastic rubbish." He got a good degree at Cambridge – a 2:1 – even though he spent most of his time either acting or playing rugby. He was a Blue. He didn't deserve to be a Blue, he says. "It's just that Andy Macdonald, who went on to be an international, left and they needed a quick replacement. As the local paper put it: 'Deprived of the meat of Big Mac, we'll have to make do with crumbs of Cake.'" He eventually gave up rugby because there's only so many auditions you can turn up for with a bashed-in nose. He still keenly watches it, though. Plus he loves football, and Arsenal. But he's not a lad. "Look at *Loaded* and just don't get it." He never found *Men Behaving Badly* funny. The other night, he had a dinner party, and made "capriccio of beef on a bed of rocket with truffled oil". "Ohhhh," I go. "Ohhhh," goes Nicola. Honestly, I can't tell you how annoying it is when you're busy laying the groundwork only to have this other person butting in all the time. Nicola, do you need money for a taxi or something? "No. Why?" He has retained his love of literature, and seems to be quite highbrow. He loves the metaphysical poets, he says, and Yeats. Does he write himself? "Yes. But only crap things." Like? "Crap poems. Crap short stories. I like modern American novelists. I tried to write an English novel in the style of Raymond Carver, but then, sadly, realised you had to be Carver to do it." He is fond of literary references. His first ever sexual experience? "It was with a girl called Jane. Fantastical I was late for my English O-level because we were off doing something from an H.E. Bates short story." He is quite clever, I think. After university, he did two years at drama school in Bristol, a few seasons in rep, and then went into the RSC. He was accepted into the company even though "one of my audition pieces fell right on its arse". What audition piece was that? "I did my imitation of bacon frying in a pan." He does his imitation of bacon frying in a pan. Frankly, it seems to involve little more than going "ssssss" while slipping down into a chair. It's less like bacon and more like me after eight gins and a snowball.



Not one of the lads: Jonathan Cake and, left, as Mosley

Photograph: Nicola Kurtz

windswept and interesting and moaned a lot, but I didn't see the point. I just got on with it." They didn't ask him to come back after the end of his two year contract. A disappointment? "It would have been lovely to have been asked back as, a juvenile lead hut, realistically, I knew it would never happen. I've never been a twentysomething actor. I've always thinks he was about £15,000 overdrawn at this point. But he also did it because he thought it would be fun. Trouble was, it was the Milk Tray man updated for the Nineties, so he never got to do any of that abseiling, speed-boating, jumping from helicopters stuff. Did you feel cheated? "Horribly! I just got to walk in through some French windows!" I say I've never been visited by the Milk Tray man, but I am visited twice yearly or so by the Video Man, who comes in the middle of the night and goes off with the video. Do you know Video Man? "NO, I don't actually." If you ever come across him, would you offer him an orange cream to go together someone else? You wouldn't miss an orange cream. No one ever eats them anyway. "Or the lime harrel." Yes! Whoever at Cadbury came up with the lime harrel must have had a grudge against the human race, I say. He says: "Or there could be a Mrs Cadbury, who just loves them. Lives for them, even." After a year touring in Shared Experience's superb production of *Mill On The Floss* (in which he played Stephen Guest) he got the part of Mosley by going up for it along with a lot of other actors. The auditions were held in the teeny London flat of Lawrence Marks, the co-writer of the series along with Maurice Gran. Everyone was there. Lawrence. Maurice. The director. The producer. The casting director. Oswald Mosley's son, Nicholas, on whose books the series is based. Nicholas's wife. Nicholas's sister, Vivien ... No, he didn't do his bacon, even though it might have been considered suitably anti-Semitic. He did Mosley's big resignation speech. He heard he had got the part when he was walking down Wardour Street to meet his friend, the immensely gifted young actor Toby Stephens, for a drink. The news made him "happy", yes. What did Toby say? "You're late." He is currently working on *The Jump*, a drama for ITV about an Essex boy made good. And then? He doesn't know. He's getting loads of scripts though, which is nice. Any chance you'll star in a remake of *The Man Who Would Be King*? I ask hopefully. "No. Why?" Because then I could say: "Mr Cake makes exceedingly good Kipling." "Oh, orf, orf," he goes, like I just made a rubbish joke or something. Jack never turns up. Jack also liked me a lot when we met, obviously. Anyway, Jonathan has to go because he's meeting a friend in the West End. They're going to see *Ice Storm*. "I haven't seen it yet," I say. "Neither have I," adds Nicola. Nicola and I leave together. Unfortunately, Nicola trips on the top stair outside the house, has a nasty fall, and gets a tripod in the eye. Any rumours that a leg of mine was somehow involved in this unhappy accident are entirely untrue.

'Mosley', Thursday nights, Channel 4, 9pm

Of course parents stay away from school. They're scared of what the teachers will say



A SURVEY of school parents' evenings by researchers at Bristol University found that only 75 per cent of parents regularly attended them, a figure which falls to 20 per cent in some inner-city comprehensives. And whose fault is this? Could it be the parents who prefer to get their feedback from *EastEnders*? No, of course not, it's the teachers. If they're not intimidating the parents, they're boring them with bland resumes of their child's progress. Some grown-ups, poor dears, have such bad

memories of school that it traumatises them to go and spend 15 minutes with a teacher who is probably 20 years their junior. I know these parents well: they are the ones who ignore requests for help in the library or school clubs and never get the letters inviting them to evening discussions on SATS or the school's reading policy. But amazingly they never miss the microscopic small-print on the newsletter informing them that the school photographer will be available on 8.30am Monday morning to

take family groups. And they always have a temporary respite from school-phobia for the annual school disco. This is not just a class thing, however. I had, in my bigoted way, assumed it was most prevalent amongst the families who breakfast on crisps and cherry cola on the way to school. But then a friend, who stalks the corridors of power at the BBC and gives her children porridge for breakfast, confided that she was terrified of our children's teacher – a mere slip of a girl who looks as if she

wouldn't say boo to a goose but whose powers of control are quite awesome. (Forget cruise missiles – send Miss Blanchard out to Baghdad: she would have Saddam whimpering at her feet within minutes.) Anyway, I find these parent-teacher evenings hugely rewarding, providing you ask straightforward questions, like did you really tell my 11-year-old son that he had to go and see *Titanic* for his weekend homework?

There have been spooky parallels with the Diana saga in our

household this week. Dennis, our much loved rodent, was as you will recall hovering on the brink of death last week, but by Monday the vet had decided it would be kinder to help him on his way. The task of taking him for his injection fell to Kelly, the children's nanny whose new job description now that the children are all at full-time school basically involves doing everything I'm no good at (yes, I've now got every woman's heart's desire – a wife. It's amazing, though, now she has full run of the house, to discover all the things about my housekeeping that had clearly irritated her beyond measure over the last five years: why did she never tell me before that she hated the way I leave the tea bags out on the counter? What other pettily resentments have been building up. I wonder, as I quickly sweep the hard skin pickings from my heels under the sofa). Now Kelly never got on with Dennis – or his good friend Napoleon – but nevertheless this mission gave her no pleasure. Nor did breaking the

news to the children, who instantly suspected a conspiracy. Did Dennis really die, or was he pushed? And the awful, shameful truth is that they are right – it is not Dennis that lies six foot under the camellia bush, but Napoleon. If we had to have a rat dying on us, then the least he could do was take the children's choice of name with it. Call me a snob but Napoleon is altogether a more fitting nomenclature, I feel, for the pet of a family who religiously attend parent evenings and eat a full English breakfast.

The trade in tacky souvenirs is none of Blair's business



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Iraq resolution

AS INTENDED, the build-up of forces in the Gulf has concentrated the minds of the international community.

It is unacceptable that any state should disregard resolutions of the Security Council and it is right that every possible step should be taken to ensure that those relating to the elimination of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq are enforced. But no humane person wishes the good people of Iraq, among whom we have lived and worked, to suffer for a day longer than is necessary the privation which the ambition and indifference of the Iraqi regime have caused them for so long. The UN Security Council should accordingly consider adopting a new resolution on the following lines:

1. Iraq will forthwith allow the UN inspectors, reinforced by representatives of other countries invited by the Council, unrestricted access to all sites.

2. As soon as this process has begun, further sales of Iraqi oil for humanitarian aid will be allowed. The distribution of this aid will be supervised by neutral observers.

3. If, after two months, the inspection has proceeded without interference, a further easing of sanctions will be authorised.

4. When the work of the inspectors has been completed, sanctions will be ended. However, Iraq will permit further inspections thereafter at agreed intervals.

5. If at any stage the work of the inspectors is hindered in any way, sanctions will be reimposed. Should interference continue, the Security Council will meet to consider further action to ensure compliance with this resolution.

Sir TERENCE CLARK

Ambassador to Iraq, 1985-89

Sir STEPHEN EGERTON

Ambassador to Iraq, 1980-82

Sir DONALD MAITLAND

Sir JOHN MOBERLY

Ambassador to Iraq, 1982-85

DAVID SUMMERHAYES

Sir HAROLD WALKER

Ambassador to Iraq, 1990-91

Bath

IN HIS attempt to justify the use of force against Iraq ("We must act. The threat posed by Saddam's arsenal is terrifying and real," 14 February), Robin Cook failed to answer some fundamental questions.

1. If Saddam is an evil dictator and his possession of weapons of mass destruction poses a se-



rious threat to regional peace, how come his neighbouring countries, to whom he is supposed to be threatening, do not support military action against him?

2. If the main reason for military action is Iraq's refusal to comply with the UN resolutions, why is a similar action not being considered against Israel, which has consistently refused to implement the UN resolution 242 (calling for Israel's withdrawal from the occupied Arab land)?

3. If Saddam has no right to question the nationalities of some members of the UN weapons inspection team, why has the US already struck out the names of Cuban and Iranian nationals from an inspection team due to visit US chemical weapons facilities?

In the absence of a consensus on the UN Security Council favouring the use of force, the impending air strikes on Iraq can only be justified on the basis of consistency, not double standards.

RANDHIR SINGH BAINS,

Gants Hill, Essex

ROBIN COOK convinced me that action must be taken to stop Iraq using its weapons of mass destruction. Saddam's stated aim is to destroy Tel Aviv, which he tried to do the first time. If he succeeds this time, he will be a hero to many Arabs, which explains their reluctance to support the United States and Britain. It explains, too, the same reluctance of countries with strong trading links with Iraq, such as Russia, or countries with a large Arab community, such as France. If Saddam succeeds in hitting Israel, the same people writing in your columns will complain that the US and Britain should have stopped him while there was still time.

W R HAINES

London SE27

THE UN's problem with Iraq is that Saddam Hussein appears to be intent on having weapons of mass destruction which, unlike many other possessors of such weapons, he has already used not just for deterrence for aggression. Logically, the so-

lution would seem to be to get rid of Saddam and/or his weapons of mass destruction and his capacity to produce them. However, it is far from obvious that the bombing and missile strikes apparently envisaged by the US and the UK would achieve those ends.

As regards getting rid of Saddam, the US ended the Gulf War deliberately without toppling him, because, we were told, to do so would leave a power vacuum which would be even more perilous. If that was true, then it isn't still true now?

As for the weapons of mass destruction, if the US now attacked Iraq, and if Iraq's current stockpiles of such weapons were hit, would that not create mass destruction within and perhaps beyond Iraq? And if all the weapons were not destroyed, what would have been the point of the exercise?

Even if, almost miraculously, Iraq's weapons of mass destruction were all destroyed without immeasurable Iraqi

and perhaps non-Iraqi casual-

ties, and even if (no less miraculously) all the facilities for producing any more such weapons were also destroyed, what would prevent Saddam from reconstituting those facilities within a few years and then posing exactly the same perceived threat as now? At best, a military "solution" would seem to offer no more than quite a short respite. At its worst, it could have incalculably disastrous long-lasting effects.

The real problem is that there is no simple military solution, only least worst strategies. However, it is worth remembering that, on those occasions when Saddam has used biological or chemical weapons, he has done so in the knowledge that he could get away with it. It is remarkable that in the Gulf War, with his back to the wall, he did not make use of weapons of mass destruction. Presumably that was because he was sufficiently deterred by what he understood would be the consequences.

Perhaps the best the UN can do is to resolve absolutely and

unanimously that any attack by Saddam on any other state will be met with an immediate and overwhelming response and to ensure that this deterrent is delivered.

HARRY ETTINGHAUSEN

Southampton

HAS THE inexperienced new Labour Cabinet thought through the implications of an American attack on Iraq?

What happens if Saddam is killed or overthrown? What follows in the ensuing instability? Will Iraq break up? What will Netanyahu's Israel do if the Iraqi army is destroyed? Will Israel opportunistically attack Syria and the Palestinians in Lebanon? In the throes of defeat, will Saddam drop anthrax on Israel?

The persistent aim of US policy is to ensure Israel's dominance of the Middle East, despite Israel's disregard of UN resolutions and its international obligations over many years. And there is never any requirement on Israel to reveal its chemical, biological and nuclear stockpile, nor to re-

verse its refusal to sign the non-proliferation treaty. How many thousands will now be slaughtered in this ill-considered adventure?

ANDREW FAULDS

Stratford-upon-Avon

Warwickshire

Royal funds

Regarding your leader ("Listen to Australia, look at Holland: get on your bike, Ma'am" (14 February)), information about the Queen's money has been available to the public for years through the Palace publication *Royal Finances* and is also available in annual reports on Grant-in-aid expenditure and the Royal Collection. What still needs detailed accounting for is the government expenditure of surplus Crown Estate revenue, which last year rose to almost £103m, and is always taken by the Treasury in exchange for a Civil List fixed at only £7.9m, less than one-eighth of the present total.

JENNIFER MILLER

London SW15

indeed now a system of "licensing" by the Diana memorial fund. However, as the fund has authorised plates "banded in 22-carat gold" and with a "numbered certificate of authenticity", its ability to tell from any kind of authenticity is questionable.

The problem with this, and with the fund's attempt to register images of Diana as a trademark, is that they seek to impose one definition of taste on a public which is entitled to decide freely for itself. The Patent Office should throw out the attempt to turn a public person into a private property after her death. As trustee Vivienne Parry said: "As a fund, we cannot tell people not to buy products. What we can do is put marks on products approved by the family."

What is worrying is the implication that, as a government, Mr Blair should do more. Let us hope that Mr Blair, despite his eagerness to mount the pulpit, resists the temptation to tell people what they can buy, read and watch.

Save the Arts

Since everyone is rightly concerned to maintain public confidence in the National Lottery, perhaps the spotlight can be turned onto one of its least understood side-effects. I refer to the unwise decision that Millennium Commission grants should be subject to the recipients obtaining matching funds.

Anurin Bevan, I think, once remarked that this country was made of coal, and surrounded by fish; and that it took an organising genius of the first order to create a shortage of both simultaneously. No doubt it is the same organising genius which has brought the arts the biggest bonanza of this century, while ensuring that it is accompanied by the worst financial famine for museums and art galleries (and Arts Council clients in general) that they have known in modern times.

A major cause of this is the insistence that successful applicants get matching funds which, when aggregated throughout the country, has put an intolerable strain on private-sector funding. If we are now invited to look once more at the whole operation of the Lottery phenomenon (report, 5 February), it is urgent that the Secretary of State consider removing this unachievable and damaging clause from all existing contracts.

JOHN LETTS

Chairman

The Museums Action Movement

London SW4

WE WOULD like to congratulate you on the Save the Arts Campaign. May we, however, put in a plea that relief be extended to theatre production?

The prestige of Britain continues to be carried abroad by the outstanding success of the atrial productions which originate in this country, and our much applauded film industry relies on the early theatrical training given to its stars.

At a time when the Government is launching a major campaign to increase employment, it should be remembered that 2.4 per cent is provided by our theatre industry. A tax incentive for investors would provide just the fillip that is needed.

JOHN WITNEY

Chair Theatre Investment Fund

ANDRÉ PIASZYNSKI

President, Society of London

Theatre

AK BENNETT-HUNTER

President, Theatrical Management Association

Dear Enoch played the game, though he seemed to forget his friends



MILES
KINGTON

I HAVE received many interesting letters of tribute to the late Enoch Powell, some of which are well worth reprinting in his honour.

From Professor Julian Bawden

Sir, I have not seen it mentioned in any of the obituaries that Enoch Powell had a deep and abiding love of cricket, and expressed this love in his very own way, that is, through the classics. He formed a cricket XI while we were classical students together, and I believe it is the only cricket team I have ever played in where it was mandatory to communicate on the field in either Latin or Greek but no other language!

Well, this was all very well as far as it went, because it is quite possible to conduct a cricket game using only a few words such as "deeper" and "siller". I seem to remember Enoch once saying that the oldest person in the team should be silly mid off, and when someone asked him why, he said that was the meaning of "senile dementia":

the oldest and silliest! But when it came to communicating with people who were not in the team, it was trickier. The first game we ever played we had all our appeals turned down on the grounds that we hadn't appealed in English! Enoch kept yelling "Quo modo?" meaning "How's that?", but the umpire was a modern linguist and pretended not to understand.

Dear old Enoch. Classical cricket is the poorer for his passing.

yours etc

From Brigadier Sir Leslie Closter

Sir, I would like to express complete agreement with the last letter.

Enoch Powell, with whom I had the honour to serve in the Far East during the late hostilities, had a remarkable mind, a remarkable love of the classics, and a remarkable penchant for cricket. These all came together when he and I were sent on a secret mission into the hills to test the loyalty of a Pathan tribe on whose adherence

we desperately depended. As we were going through hostile territory, I disguised myself as a travelling rug salesman and dyed my skin brown, but Powell disdained all such pretence, and travelled in a suit, carrying much luggage. We were duly stopped by a warlike party in one of the passes. Before turning to me, they demanded to see in Enoch's luggage. To my amazement, it was full of cricket equipment: gloves, balls, bats, cricket boxes, and so on. The tribesmen greeted this with wild cries of delight. It turned out that Powell had been up in the hills the year before and had taught them how to play the noble game, promising one day to return with ample supplies.

"And this man here?" they said, pointing to me. "Is he a friend of yours, oh Enoch?" "I know him not," he said, gazing at me with those hooded eyes. He then added softly, in Latin, for my ears only, as they took me off for two years' imprisonment. "Sorry about this but a chap must do his duty. *Molle me lassit.*"

Splendid man. We shall miss his sort. yours etc

From Sir Norbert Standing

Sir, I agree with all the foregoing. I was a political colleague of Enoch's in the 1950s when we were both very junior cogs in the Tory government, and spent a lot of our time forming inter-departmental cricket teams. I used to find next to him in the slips, and I remember him saying one day that we would never beat the West Indies until we had a good supply of fast bowlers. Where will we get them from? I asked him about this and he said, fixing me with that glittering gaze which the ancient mariner would have envied, that he disliked both sides equally, and that he had never courted popularity.

Perhaps, I said, he had courted the opposite. Perhaps he had actively courted dis-like. Or perhaps he just liked the sound of his own voice. At which he smiled and said: "Nacuntur poetae, fuit oratores." yours etc

gung, so I may have missed a few nuances. A great man. And a fine player of the field.

From Vice-Admiral Sir Hugh Bottingleigh Sir, All these letters are spot-on. I was present at what must have been the last cricket game Enoch Powell ever attended, in his County Down constituency, during the annual Republican v Unionist friendly fixture which he had instituted. He did not play himself, but insisted on umpiring, and caused a certain amount of controversy by giving many batters out when there had not even been an appeal. I later asked him about this and he said, fixing me with that glittering gaze which the ancient mariner would have envied, that he disliked both sides equally, and that he had never courted popularity.

Perhaps, I said, he had courted the opposite. Perhaps he had actively courted dis-like. Or perhaps he just liked the sound of his own voice. At which he smiled and said: "Nacuntur poetae, fuit oratores." yours etc

Sinn Fein confronts its day of judgement in the peace talks



DAVID
MCKITTRICK
THE RISKS OF
EXPULSION

A cartoon in a Belfast newspaper depicts a relieved David Trimble reaching gratefully for a lifebelt, symbolising IRA violence, which is rescuing him from the dire prospect of having to engage with Sinn Fein. It is the case that Ulster Unionists view the latest crisis in the peace process not as a moment of grave danger but as a golden opportunity to re-shape the political talks in the way they want it.

They want Sinn Fein banished. This is partly because of the IRA's apparent return to killing, but more fundamentally because few if any Unionist politicians can conceive of a new settlement which might include republicans. Born and brought up in a state that regarded republicanism as the implacable enemy within, they found it impossible to envisage any other way.

The peace process, emerging as it did from Irish nationalism and gaining the endorsement of the Labour government, is based in large part on an abandonment of the traditional politics of exclusion. The argument is that both Unionism and republicanism might, for the first time ever, be accommodated in a new system. Mainstream Unionism never subscribed to this idea, taking part in talks only under protest and under sustained pressure from Tony Blair and Mo Mowlam. If Sinn Fein are this week expelled from those talks, there will be private celebrations among Unionist politicians.

As this analysis suggests, the two killings ascribed to the IRA have come as a body blow to Sinn Fein leaders, such as Gerry Adams, who have invested substantial amounts of political capital in working for entry to talks. They will now argue that the evidence of IRA involvement is not strong enough, the RUC's word should not be taken on this point, and that Sinn Fein's 17 per cent vote in Northern Ireland has given the party its own independent mandate.

But such arguments are unlikely to prevail. Last week's IRA statement asserting that its ceasefire was intact amounted to a classic "non-denial denial" of responsibility for the two killings. In the face of this studied ambiguity, the RUC's accusation of its involvement will carry much more weight and there is thus a real possibility that the republicans will be put out of the talks.

Those talks are scheduled to come to a conclusion in the month of May, which means that even a temporary suspension would remove Sinn Fein from the conference table during a crucial period. This would put paid to the cherished republican hope of achieving one-on-one meetings between Mr Adams and Mr Trimble. The concept of an inclusive settlement would thus receive a huge setback.

In political terms the killings made no sense at all, endangering as they have Sinn Fein's place at the table and thus the entire peace process. One of those killed, Robert Dougan, was a member of the paramilitary Ulster Defence Association who, it is said, dabbled in drugs. Both republicans and se-

curity sources say the other victim, Brendan Campbell, was a leading drug dealer. Some months ago he had launched an amazing one-man attack on Sinn Fein offices in Belfast with a machine gun and a hand-grenade. Although this was clearly an extraordinary challenge to the authority of the Republican movement, both men were essentially unimportant in the greater scheme of things. Their murders seem to show that, at this moment at least, the IRA is being driven not by the logic of politics but by the logic of the street and the ghetto. Killings of drug dealers are popular among many in republican areas.

So too, at certain times, are killings of Loyalist paramilitaries. Last year saw Loyalists killing more than a dozen Catholics, a steady drip of death which, in recent weeks, escalated into a spate that left eight Catholic men dead within a one-month period. The IRA's guns remained silent during all this, the requirements of the peace process apparently dictating inactivity. But then something snapped, as a grassroots clamour for vengeance reached a pitch that could not be ignored. The low politics of the tribal imperative for revenge evidently asserted themselves over higher political considerations, and two men died.

All this has brought Sinn Fein to the point of exclusion, though the party will today attempt to mount a strong rear-guard action, possibly including a legal challenge against any such move. The British and Irish governments will not want them to go but may feel there is no alternative. A surprising number of talks participants have privately come to believe in the *bona fides* of Gerry Adams and Martin McGuinness and do not think that they approved of these killings. But both are leaders of the republican movement and unless some startling new information comes to light today, the governments may well conclude that Sinn Fein cannot be at the table while the IRA kills people.

Expulsion carries huge risks. IRA violence could escalate, and if it does Loyalist retaliation would probably not be far behind. The recent deaths have already shown that a spate of a dozen killings can endanger the talks; another hour of serious violence might wreck the whole exercise. But if Sinn Fein are somehow permitted to stay, this could itself destabilise the talks. David Trimble has refrained from stipulating that republicans stay he will go, but if they are not expelled he would certainly come under increased pressure to walk away.

It has to be remembered that two of the other Unionist parties, including the Reverend Ian Paisley's Democratic Unionists, have already walked out because of the very presence of Sinn Fein. Four of Mr Trimble's ten MPs have already said they favour withdrawal, while important members of his negotiating team have publicly voiced doubts about the exercise. It is in fact arguable that, as things stand, only around half of the Unionist community is actually represented in the talks. On top of all this is the daily danger of more violence, either from groups who are in the peace process or from those small but active organisations, such as the Loyalist Volunteer Force, who are outside and intent on wrecking it. Add all these hazards together and many observers will wonder how the whole thing can possibly survive.

Yet it has weathered similar turbulence in the past, confounding everyone by its resilience. At this moment it is hard to see exactly how the republican instinct to stay in can be reconciled with the Unionist urge to push them out. All that can be said is that in the past difficulties have been overcome by the sheer determination of important figures involved not to give up. Such determination will be needed again to navigate successfully through the coming week of crisis and controversy.

A little help for those who just can't find the right words ...



TOM
SUTCLIFFE
EMOTIONAL
ILLITERACY

It was reported the other day that Hallmark have plans to issue a card intended for those bereaved by a recent suicide. I suppose this could be an urban myth – the sort of viral folk belief for which hurried journalism is a kind of nutritious agar jelly, the perfect growth medium. And, as I'm writing this on Sunday and don't have three hours to spend chasing down the home number for Hallmark's Head of Product Development (nor, to be perfectly honest, anything like the necessary investigative zeal), I can't categorically confirm or deny the report. But when you think about it for a moment it seems a little fishy. Are we really to believe that Hallmark's financial planners have stared into their demographic spreadsheets and spotted an unconquered pinnacle among the bar charts and graphs? And if they have how would they set about reaching the summit?

The marketing of such a product presents some obvious problems. It would, I assume, be racked in the Speciality section of the average card shop but, unless there has been a sudden boom in do-it-yourself annihilation, projected sales could hardly justify the creation of a formal category, with its own official Hallmark tag (Anniversaries, Retirement, Valentine's Day, Self-slaughter). Out there in the market place the suicide commiseration card would have to nestle alongside Sorry to Hear You've Been Sacked and Thinking Of You After Your Biopsy. Nor is it easy to think of how it could be advertised in any way consistent with good taste – the company would have to rely on word of mouth to build sales (and if the story is true, of course, this article has just become an unwitting part of that campaign).

What's more, it is difficult to think of what such a card would contain. All suicides point a finger, it's true, and it is a gesture that (like the eyes in certain portraits) may feel as it is directed at any bystander, whatever the angle at which they stand to the event. So presumably these cards contain some variation on the theme of 'You Mustn't Blame Yourself'. Then again, however desperate you were for some assistance in this situation, you might hesitate

over a message that contained an explicit reference to culpability. What if you were to send one to somebody who had never imagined that they might be responsible for such an extreme of despair? One would hardly want to put such ideas in a relative's head.

On the other hand the notion of the suicide card seems entirely consistent with the increasing specialisation of the greetings card industry – their profitable realisation that "not knowing quite what to say" is an inexhaustible emotional oil-field, replenished by every successive generation. We have already come to terms with specialist cards for redundancy (voluntary and involuntary) so, given that the profit margin on greetings cards must be almost as great as those for cinema popcorn, why not expand operations to cover all possible occasions of sentimental inaccuracy, all the moments when the gap between feeling and expression leave us uncertain and awkward?

There have been other recent advances in this field of human experience, not least the growing acceptability of gallery postcards as an element of stationery. A fine art postcard usefully limits the amount of sincere expression you have to generate on any particular occasion and though it has introduced us to an entirely novel form of social anxiety – that the illustration on the verso will somehow be interpreted as inappropriate to the sentiments expressed on the recto – the increased safety of less space in which to put a foot wrong greatly outweighs that minimal hazard. But even the blank space on a postcard can seem immense, when you



A pre-packaged thought for that special occasion. Photograph: Paul Stewart

felt it if has been pounded out at a rate of 6,000 units an hour from a printing press the size of a three-story house? Surely here technology has stamped all the validating uniqueness out of the expression?

But in another sense the growth of pre-packaged sentiments, cellophane wrapped with a perfectly sized envelope, is not a departure from tradition but

and undamaged. Sincere, like many of our emotional adjectives, initially referred to things rather than feelings. To talk of a sincere wine was not to indulge in pretentious wine-talk, simply to say that it was pure and unadulterated.)

And in a culture where the personal touch is less important – or where widespread illiteracy makes it impossible to

The arrival of a pre-printed expression of empathy seems to represent a peculiarly modern corruption

haven't the faintest idea what to put on it. It's not inconceivable that the story is true, then. But if it is a myth, it is easy to see why it has been promulgated so successfully; it satisfies a feeling that we live in a world of declining authenticity. The arrival of a pre-printed expression of empathy, which only requires us to append our signature to render it "personal", seems to represent a peculiarly modern corruption – it is the sympathetic equivalent of the pre-cooked meal, with all its associations of diminished solicitude and effort. The expression "heartfelt", which used to be common in greetings card prose, is rather like the use of the word "home-cooked" on pub menus (meaning "re-heated in our microwave") – a hollow bid for the qualities the object so conspicuously lacks. How can a sentiment be heartfelt anyway – proficient expressers can usually make a good living. Customers went to a professional letter-writer not because they wanted to dictate their own faltering words but because they wanted to draw on his experience of the correct and appropriate forms. They wanted to pour their feelings into a receptacle that had been certified as acceptable. Trilling doesn't mention the nice irony that one of the great driving forces for the promotion of emotional authenticity, the

modern English novel, has a direct connection with such practices. Samuel Richardson's first book – before the huge success of *Pamela* and *Clarissa* had been a "little volume of letters, in a common style, on such subjects as might be of use to country readers who are unable to indite for themselves". In other words those early achievements of psychological intimacy (and unique identity) had emerged from an exercise which effectively said that the expression of individual feelings wasn't essential – as long as the letter was sent it didn't matter too much where the sentiments had been borrowed from.

Perhaps, rather than providing evidence of widespread emotional illiteracy, the expansion of the greetings card industry suggests that we are beginning to relinquish our belief in the importance of emotional authenticity. It should only take a few centuries to find out and in the meantime I would suggest the card manufacturers turn their efforts to more obviously practical gaps in the market. Right now, for example, I'd pay good money for a convincing I'm Sorry I Didn't Take Valentine's Day More Seriously card, but I suspect I'm going to have to write my own.



Help stop this now

Day after day, this bear is dragged into a bloody arena to face pairs of bull terriers. His teeth have been ripped out and his claws blunted, so he is at the dogs' mercy. The bear doesn't know the trainer won't let him be killed, but the bear doesn't know this. Over and over again, he is fighting for his life.

Over 2,000 bear-baitings take place each year in Pakistan, despite the fact that they are now banned by law.

Our Liberty campaign frees captive bears, campaigns to enforce laws protecting bears, and fights ignorance with training and education.

Please help WSPA's campaign against bear baiting. Return this coupon with your gift to the address below.

Name _____ Postcode _____

Address _____

I enclose my donation of £ _____

(Please make cheques payable to WSPA or fill in your credit card details below)

Visa/MasterCard/Switch/Eurocard/CAP CharityCard Name as applicable

Card No. _____ Expiry date _____ / _____

(If using Switch, please use the number printed in the middle of your card)

Expiry date _____ / _____ Switch issue no. _____ Today's date _____ / _____

Signature _____

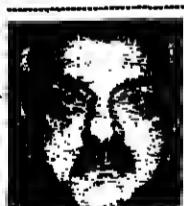
Tick here if you would like a free information pack.

Please send this completed form and your donation to: WSPA, Dept ALS05, Freepost NH2604, Northampton, NN3 6BR. No stamp is needed. THANK YOU.

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WSPA
We Actively Protect Endangered Animals

How the young have come to support the bombing of Iraq



TARIQ
ALI
DEPOLITICISED
YOUTH

American leaders have long been used to treating the cracked British vase as a piñata, but previous Labour prime ministers did, at least, attempt to restrict and restrain the US, albeit with little success. New Labour leaders, like excited young pups, seem to be only too delighted to be given the opportunity to bark their support for the master war-monger in the White House, desperate now to try out the latest advances in war-technology on the people of Iraq. Could this be the "ethical" foreign policy promised by Robin Cook the week after the

exhilarating electoral triumph of last May? How long ago that seems now and how false. One ethic for Saddam and a very different one for the butcher Suharto in Jakarta, with the blood of many on his hands and still occupying East Timor and still being supplied with "ethical" weapons by Britain and se-

The brazen opportunism of contemporary culture is reflected in society as a whole and it has affected, if temporarily, the capacity to think critically.

This is especially pronounced in the MTV generation, but it is also the result of a conscious decision by the majority of newspapers and television stations to trivialise domestic politics and drastically reduce the space and screen-time given to the rest of the world. Leave aside the other continents, the knowledge of European politics in this country is pitiful. All the statistics tell the same story. It requires a natural catastrophe, a war, an assassination or a Royal visit to get some coverage of the rest of the world. In these conditions it is hardly surprising that students and youth, in general, are indifferent to the fate of nations beyond their reach.

There are other, more fundamental reasons. After all, the French, Germans and Italians, old and young, remain vigilant in the face of attempts to "modernise" their welfare states. What makes this country different? Contrary to numerous mythologies, the Thatcher period was an age of insecurity that bred fear. The

recessions coupled with casino capitalism generated a compulsive aggressiveness in the struggle for existence. It was each person for themselves. Economic deregulation was accompanied by a triumphant ideological offensive that consigned the state to the dustbin.

Political democracy stands in tension with an economy that spawns inequality. Democracy is the terrain in which the many select those who will rule over them; capitalism is the system in which a few determine the division of the spoils. The institutional separation of the realm of politics from the realm of economics was once considered useful to stabilise the system. No longer. Economics is politics. If you can play the market you can rule the world. Businesses are greatly in demand to run everything. In that sense, as Nigel Lawson noted presciently in 1995, New Labour is the true heir of Margaret Thatcher.

What is indisputable, however, is that the last two decades have seen a depoliticisation on the campuses. Traditional left and liberal politics, which included opposition to unjust wars as a central tenet, is now confined to the settled ranks of the far-left groups.

tracted to those who promoted charities in order to aid good causes: Bob Geldof, the late Diana Spencer, the late Mother Teresa and Richard Branson (who gave a very good impression of being a charity).

Dissent in Britain thus became atomised. It reflected a hostility to all traditional politics and was confined to single issues related to the environment and animal rights. Most of these deserved to be supported, yet one couldn't help feeling something was missing. I doubt whether most of those who were upset by the cramped living conditions in which calves were shipped to slaughterhouses in France ever spared a thought for the number of children who died in Iraq from malnutrition and lack of medicine as a direct result of the inhuman sanctions policy imposed by Washington.

On another level, real comfort was sought by large numbers of young people in clubs that transformed the urban landscape of contemporary Britain. Club culture remains a hedonist motto, "Don't Worry, Be Happy", is undoubtedly very popular. Ignorance is Ecstasy. This indifference to the world of politics can lead

to a subjectivity where criticism plays no role.

A deep need to exercise power as an end in itself makes for a very superficial grasp of politics. Tony Blair's message to the effect that Saddam was an evil monster sitting on a lot of evil weapons and could destroy the world was a classic example of a dumbed-down politician speaking to a population he knew was largely ignorant of the history of the conflict and unconcerned by the fact that the US and Britain were isolated in the Arab World. What is frightening is the speed with which people began to repeat all this as a mantra, often adding for good measure that Saddam is the same or even worse than Hitler.

A country mobilised for war by demagogic of this sort can, in a more disillusioned mood, become vulnerable to other and more consistent demagogues. Dissent that refuses to be a spectator, but insists on wedging itself into the forbidden zones of modern politics is vital as a physic for any functioning democracy.

'1968 - Marching In the Streets', by Tariq Ali and Susan Watkins, will be published by Bloomsbury in May.

Professor J. M. Hirst

J. M. HIRST was the inventor of the "Hirst Spore Trap". The pollen counts broadcast in the media for hay-fever sufferers during our summer months are in large measure a direct legacy of his work.

In 1950, when Hirst joined the staff of Rothamsted Experimental Station in Harpenden, Hertfordshire, the Agricultural Research Council was still much concerned with increasing home food production. His task was to study the spread of potato blight to find better disease control; when or how far spores of the fungus could spread was still conjecture. To monitor spore dispersal he developed a new air sampler. In it a small pump sucked air through a slit to impact spores onto a microscope slide that was moved, by clockwork, slowly past the slit over 24 hours. Microscopic examination of the slide gave a ready picture of the time when spores had been in the air.

It became apparent from the other spores and pollen being caught that there was a distinct and recognisable air-flora. Spores or pollen could be identified by species and their prevalence in the air could be linked to environmental conditions or seasons. The information helped to explain the onset of plant diseases or allergic reactions in susceptible human patients and greatly increased the growing interest in aerobiology. The sampler became known as the "Hirst Spore Trap" and soon was being used to study both the spread of fungal pathogens and the changing airborne concentrations of human allergens. Further modifications have been made to the Hirst trap but its essential nature and use continue to this day.

Jim Hirst was of the generation whose academic careers came to an abrupt halt with the outbreak of war in 1939. He was born in 1921 in a small village near Birmingham. He attended Solihull Grammar School and in 1939 was awarded a Warwickshire County Major Scholarship to go on to university but almost with the award came his mobilisation papers. Hirst's father had died when he was young so the straitened family circumstances meant that holidays were spent with farm worker relatives on the north Norfolk coast. Here he spent nearly as much time with the coastal fishermen as on the farms so that he developed a keen interest both in farming and the sea. For war service he enlisted with the Royal Navy.



Hirst: determined

the other enduring influences in his life – Marlene, the wife he married in 1953 and who remained at his side for the next 45 years, and the Roman Catholic Church, into which both were admitted the year after their marriage.

Until 1980 he followed a career in education. As a drama lecturer in the Sixties, at St Mary's College of Education, Newcastle upon Tyne, he began writing in earnest, initially for the theatre with the support and encouragement of his Head of Department, Agnes Rackman. He wrote a number of theatre plays including *This Was No Ordinary War*, *During the*

mer vacation he spent as a "voluntary worker" in the Plant Pathology Department at Rothamsted to work with P.H. Gregory, who was beginning his extremely influential work in aerobiology. This vacation was a determining time in Hirst's life, for it was to Rothamsted that he returned in 1950 on gaining a first class degree.

He elected to train for Coastal Forces. Part of the training was at Roedean School (which with some foresight had been vacated by its young ladies). Hirst would not often speak of his wartime experiences but occasionally in convivial evening conversation would light-heartedly introduce "when I was at Roedean".

He joined 31st Motor Launch (ML) Flotilla as a junior officer when it began duties in the Mediterranean. Initially the flotilla was engaged on anti-submarine patrols but then were escorts for landing craft during the invasions of Sicily and mainland Italy. As the Allies advanced the MLs became increasingly engaged in mine-clearance duties, their wooden construction making it easier for them to avoid detonating magnetic mines.

Hirst had a number of commands before being sent early in 1945 to command ML480 in a group given the task of clearing a path to Trieste. To counter the wooden-hulled MLs the magnetic mines were by now fitted with long, floating sausages attached to their detonators. Except in the calmest water these were difficult to spot and could easily be dragged by propeller or rudder, so clearing such mines was very hazardous.

Early on the first day of the approach to Trieste the lead boat suffered severe damage, and the second boat went to its aid, so ML480 was now the lead. The following day they worked into Trieste, being the first Allied ships to enter. After the war ended Hirst was retained in minesweeping for some months, helping to co-ordinate the clearance of the approaches to the Baltic Sea. His last command was ML155 and in later years his wife, Barbara, was able to buy the ship's bell as a present for him.

In 1946 Hirst entered Reading University to study Agricultural Botany. (It was here he met Barbara.) The 1948 sum-

mer vacation he spent as a "voluntary worker" in the Plant Pathology Department at Rothamsted to work with P.H. Gregory, who was beginning his extremely influential work in aerobiology. This vacation was a determining time in Hirst's life, for it was to Rothamsted that he returned in 1950 on gaining a first class degree.

His first published research paper described the new air sampler, the Hirst Spore Trap, and Hirst went on to extend his spore-trapping techniques to other problems, eventually building up a team of associates working on a wide range of diseases. In 1967 he became head of Plant Pathology and in 1970, for his outstanding work in aerobiology, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society.

In 1975 Hirst was appointed Director of the Long Ashton Research Station at Bristol. The station had, since its inception as a cider and apple research centre, always been associated with fruit growing. Hirst was charged with re-orientating its research to arable cropping, to match the greatly increased arable area in the west of England. It was not easy for the staff there to absorb the extent of the necessary changes.

As orchards, fruit plantations and hedges were grubbed out and cereal crops took their place, it was clear that the end of an era had come. It is a tribute to Hirst's quality of leadership that in his early years as director the transition was achieved successfully.

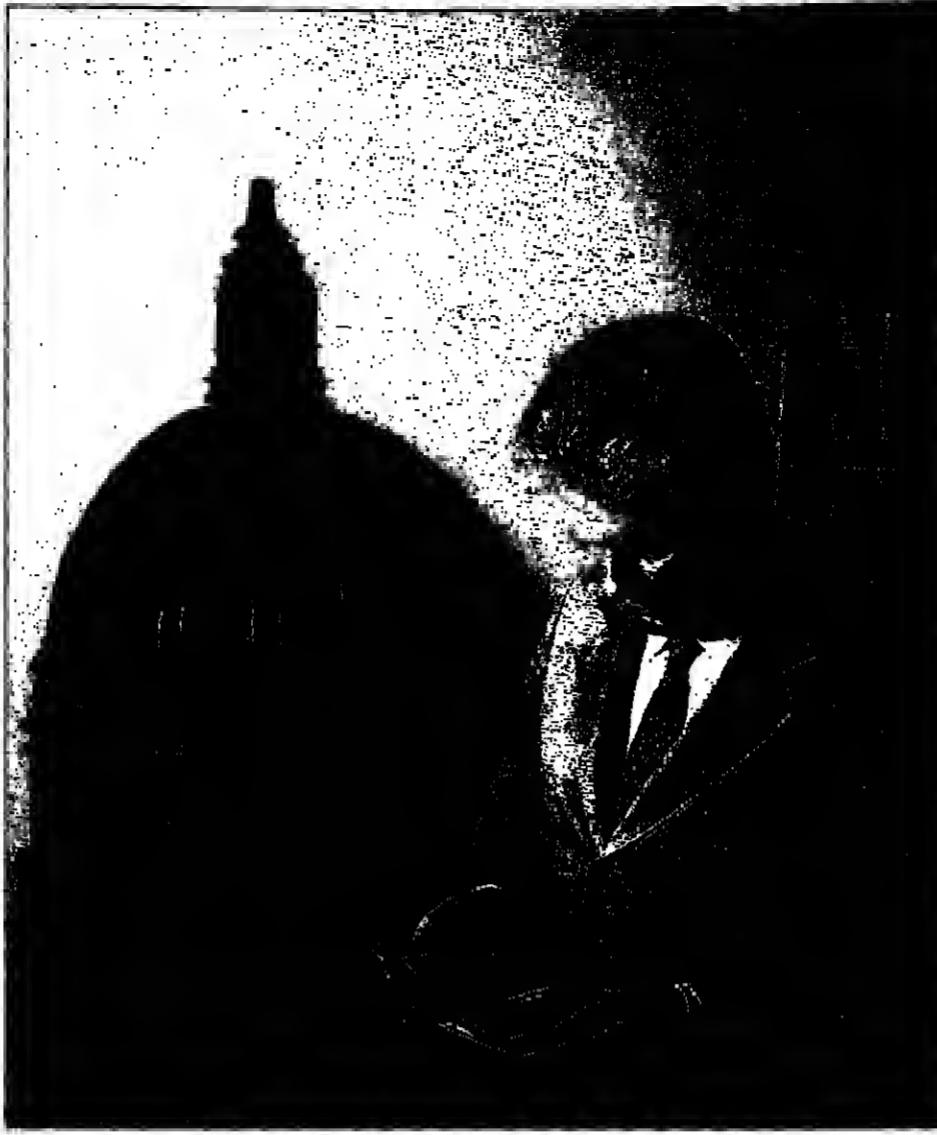
Then, in the early 1980s, he had to turn his energies to retaining Long Ashton as an Institute, again with success, when several were being closed.

As one tribute to Hirst, on his retirement, a new building put up during his time at Long Ashton was named the Hirst Laboratory.

In retirement Jim Hirst gave much time to international agriculture, travelling widely for many organisations. He was a strong-willed, determined but likeable, approachable man.

Alex Bainbridge

John M. Hirst, aerobiologist; born 20 April 1921; DSC 1945; staff, Rothamsted Experimental Station, Horpendon 1950-67, Head of Department of Plant Pathology 1967-75; FRS 1970; Director, Long Ashton Research Station 1975-94; Professor of Agricultural and Horticultural Science, Bristol University 1975-84 (Emeritus); married 1957 Barbara Stokes (two daughters); died Bristol 30 December 1997.



A dominant figure in the European old book trade: Chiesa in his studio

Carlo Alberto Chiesa

MILAN is a businesslike city; its streets do not encourage you to dally. But, as in other Italian cities, façades conceal graceful courtyards or, beyond, hidden gardens. 11 Via Bigi is like this, except that on the far side of its courtyard the door gives on to, first, an anteroom featuring a large wooden architectural model of a Renaissance cupola and with beautiful documents framed on the walls, and then a large room shelfed on three sides, and dominated by a long high table, strewn with books, carefully chosen to catch your eye or taste, and other objects, some exquisitely made of glass.

This, for more than 40 years, was the "Studio" of Carlo Alberto Chiesa, for almost as long one of the dominant figures in the European old book trade. He was born in 1926, the son of Pietro Chiesa, who was a famous designer of glass (hence the pieces on the table), a commanding figure in the applied arts and founder of the "Fontana Arte" group. He was also a great collector of everything except books, and his son inherited his connoisseur's eye.

Growing up in the Second World War, a law student just after it, Chiesa found his vocation in Paris, whither he went in 1949. He haunted the Parisian

bookshops, notably that of Marc Lolié, who became his friend and mentor. He earned the respect of the legendary Galanti, then in his apartment in Montmartre, where every piece of furniture, even the bath, useless since there was nothing to heat the water, was full of books. Chiesa had an intuitive sense of the importance and tactile qualities of books, so much so that he could buy a book in one shop and sell it on to another, making a profit on what he could see and others had missed.

In 1953 he returned home to Milan, first to the Piazza Sant'Erasmo, and then in 1956 to the Via Bigi. It was never, in any ordinary sense, a shop. As in Paris, his idea was to find the books he liked and then to put them in the hands of those who would appreciate them as much as he did. His discretion, equality, was complete; without revealing his customers' identity, he never discussed their affairs or interests unless required to do so. But no major buyer could afford to ignore him, since his grasp of the market, not only for Italian books of all periods (though that was his staple) but any fine book, was powerful.

If private collectors benefited most from his taste and ability, he also admired the great public collections. As a loyal Milanese, the Biblioteca Ambrosiana had first call on his expertise, and successive Prefects owed much to his help. The late Franklin D. Murphy esteemed him, and the wonderful library of early Italian books that bears Murphy's name at the University of California at Los Angeles owes much to Chiesa's wise counsel.

Since the late 1950s and the Dyson Perrins sales, Chiesa was a notable presence at almost every important sale, although he disliked publicity and preferred to buy as well as sell privately. But Christie's sale of the Feltrinelli collection two months ago was a challenge he could not refuse; though mortally ill, he triumphed once again.

Chiesa did not deal just in grand books; he could see the delight of quiet humble ephemera. It was the same with people; he was hospitable to all, though his first love was for his wife and family, with whom he went climbing in the Dolomites every year.

Nicolas Barker

Carlo Alberto Chiesa, bookseller; born Milan 17 September 1926; married 1961 Elena de Hirschel de Minerbi (four sons); died Milan 25 January 1998.

Shin'ichi Hoshi

SHIN'ICHI HOSHI was one of the best-known specialists in Japan in "esu effu" (SF or science fiction). As in Britain, SF was looked down upon as a lowly form of art by the Japanese literary establishment, but Hoshi succeeded in writing 1,000 stories, a world record, by 1983.

The art of science fiction had a late start in Japan. In 1955, Kodansha published the first SF anthology, "Stories of Scientific Adventure", intended mainly for schoolchildren. Famous Western works by Jules Verne, H.G. Wells, Karel Capek, Aldous Huxley and Ray Bradbury had already gained popularity in Japanese translation, and influenced a number of novelists, including the late Kobo Abe.

Abe's almost exact contemporary, Shin'ichi Hoshi, was brought up by his maternal grandmother, sister of the novelist Ogai Mori. Hoshi studied agriculture at Tokyo University and joined the family pharmaceutical business, founded by his father Hajime Hoshi, who was also a member of the Diet. On his death in 1957, the pharmacies went bankrupt and Shin'ichi abandoned the profession.

In the same year, the pioneer Japanese SF magazine was born: *Uchūjin* ("Space Dust"), a members-only journal, as is common in Japan. Hoshi published his first short story, "Sekisutora", in it, a text full of devastating black humour. It was reprinted in a commercial magazine, *Hosuki*, in 1957, and aroused great interest.

Hoshi excelled in parodies of human behaviour and acerbic portraits of common Japanese types in outer-space settings. He became an expert in what he called "shōto-shōto" (short short stories) with an O. Henry-style surprise switch at the last moment. Science fiction began to take off in comics and animated cartoons. The illustrator Hidemitsu Manabe said of Hoshi: "He reflected the spirit of the quickly changing modern world in the trick endings to his stories." His first collection was *Jinzo Bijin* ("Man-made Beauty") in 1958.

In 1960 SF Magazin began publishing in association with the American magazine *Fantasy and Science Fiction*, introducing British and American SF writers to a growing audience of Japanese enthusiasts. Hoshi and others began to have their works published in translation all over the world. He was translated into 10 languages and was particularly successful in Russia and the Eastern Bloc countries, while English translations appeared not only in Britain and the United States but also in Japan, where during

the 1960s and 1970s the *Japan Times* published a series of his "short shorts".

Hoshi's most famous book is *Bokko-chan* (1963). It was followed by another collection, *Oi-dekoi* ("Hey There, Come On Out") in 1967, whose satirical humour brought him many fans. SF fiction became almost as popular as detective stories, and the two genres were often mingled. In 1968 Hoshi was awarded the Japan Detective Writers' Association Prize for *Moso Ginko* ("Delusion Bank").

But he also wrote longer works like the novel *Koe no ami* ("The Voice Net") in 1970, in which he showed great skill and insight in predicting the future in a literary form the French call a "novel of anticipation". It is a story of special interest today, with its theme of an "information world network" resembling our Internet's sinister encroachments, in which human beings fall completely under the control of their computers. His criticism of modern society and the consumer civilisation is here displayed with ferocious and comic disgust.

He wrote a fine biography of his grandfather Koganei Yoshiaki (1859-1944), a famous anatomist and anthropologist. Hoshi composed another long work based on the life of his father, *Jinjin wa yowashi kuni wa tsuyoshi*, a title employing the words uttered by his bankrupt father: "The public are weak; the government is powerful." It tells of the hardships of his father's early life in America and his heart-breaking struggle with Japanese government bureaucracy and police harassment by the supervisors of the Ministry of Home Affairs' Medical Department that brought his father's firm to bankruptcy. This novel, 10 years in the writing, reveals the roots of Hoshi's bitterness.

He spent the last year of his life in hospital. The novelist Morio Kita describes meeting him at a literary party, looking unhappy and wretched, having lost all his former vigour, and yet capable, when drunk, of "interesting behaviour". Another writer, one also famous for his sardonic bungo, Tsutsumi Yasutaka, said: "Mr Hoshi, when drunk, was a rich mine of black humour and the most preposterously funny tales. He spread the cult of SF throughout Japan, making his readers dream of other, possibly better worlds."

James Kirkup

Shin'ichi Hoshi, writer; born Tokyo 1926; married; died Tokyo 30 December 1997.

Richard Cooper

CHILDREN'S drama for television was an area in which Richard Cooper's many talents, both natural and professional, found an ease of expression that was rarely bettered in his other work. He cared about ideas and he cared about children were entitled to the best of both.

Although he will be remembered chiefly as writer of children's television drama, his range and interests were much wider. After leaving theatre school in the early 1950s, where he was much influenced by the work of Rudolf Laban, he in quick succession encountered

the other enduring influences in his life – Marlene, the wife he married in 1953 and who remained at his side for the next 45 years, and the Roman Catholic Church, into which both were admitted the year after their marriage.

Until 1980 he followed a career in education. As a drama lecturer in the Sixties, at St Mary's College of Education, Newcastle upon Tyne, he began writing in earnest, initially for the theatre with the support and encouragement of his Head of Department, Agnes Rackman. He wrote a number of theatre plays including *This Was No Ordinary War*, *During the*

Interval, It's a Long Way to Jerusalem, The Mandala, Campan's Brag and Torres, most of which were performed on the fringe at the Edinburgh Festival. In the Seventies the dramatist C.P. Taylor's wife, Elisabeth, attended St Mary's as a mature student and brought her husband to one of Cooper's plays. It was the beginning of a valuable collaboration. Cecil Taylor's active encouragement led to *Over There and Lance and Lace Have Left Love*, both of which Cooper wrote for the Stagecoach Company. Shortly afterwards he and Taylor worked with Alex Glasgow on *All Change!* for the Newcastle Playhouse.

After the more courageous atmosphere of the theatre, this set Cooper against television writing for a time, until Margaret Bottomley persuaded him to write a six-part serial for *Tyne-Tees Television* set in the Polish community on Tyneside. This became *Quest of Eagles*, which won him the 1980 Pye Television Award for Children's Writing.

For Cooper it was like coming home. He forged a professional relationship with Anna Home, an Executive Producer at the BBC. Home produced his work both at the BBC and later at TVS, where she was Director of Programmes. When she returned to the BBC as Head of Children's Programmes, she commissioned the last project he was ever to work on, an adaptation of the Captain Marryat classic *Children of the New Forest*.

Cooper did not turn his back on adult drama and in 1989 *Shadow of the Noose*, an eight-part series based on the life of the Edwardian advocate Sir Edward Marshall Hall, was screened on BBC2. It received outstanding reviews and even provoked a fan letter from Lord Scarman.

My own association with Richard Cooper began when he brought me an idea for a children's thriller called *Eye of the*

Storm. We went on to produce the programme for Meridian who at that time, in 1992, were the new kids on the ITV block. The show was a success, bringing Cooper a well-deserved Writer's Guild Award in 1993 and me a professional and personal friendship that I valued enormously during the six years that I knew him.

He and I were last together in April last year, writing the scripts for *Children of the New Forest*. He was an intelligent and responsive colleague, always brimming over with fresh ideas. He never wished the audience to be sold short.

Peter Tabern

Richard Fairhurst Cooper, writer; born Warrington, Cheshire 5 April 1930; married 1953 Marlene Jordan (four sons, two daughters); died Bordeaux, France 1 February 1998.

Group plc for the taxpayer; Dr Paul Lark, QC, Peter Mantle (Solicitor, Customs and Excise) for the respondent.

Bail
Re G (a minor); QBD (Div Ct) (Simon Brown LJ, Mance J) 14 January 1998.
The requirement in s 7(4) of the Bail Act 1976 that an arrested person should be brought before a justice of the peace within 24 hours of his arrest pursuant to s 7(3) of the Act was not satisfied by his being brought to the court building within the time limit. The wording of s 7(4) was plain: the time limit was absolute, and a failure to comply resulted in the unlawful detention of the arrested person.

Jeremy Rousell (Bird & Co, Grantham) for the applicant; Ian Ashford-Thom (Treasury Solicitor) for the respondent.

CASE SUMMARIES: 16 FEBRUARY 1998

The following notes of judgments were prepared by the reporters of the *All England Law Reports*.

Binding over

Hurley v Taylor (Inspector of Taxes); Ctd (Park J) 20 Jan 1998.
In making tax assessments outside the six-year time limit, the burden of proof was on the Revenue under s 36(1) of the Taxes Management Act 1970 to show a loss of tax attributable to fraudulent or negligent conduct on the part of the taxpayer. That burden was not satisfied if the appeal commissioners did not positively disbelieve the taxpayer's evidence. It was not enough that they simply did not accept it.

for the taxpayer; Bruce Carr (IR Solicitor) for the Crown.

Costs

R v Bow Street Magistrates' Court, ex parte Screen Multimedia Ltd & anor; QBD (Div Ct) (Schiemann LJ, Douglas Brown J) 13 January 1998.
Where an applicant had been convicted of distributing unlicensed video cassettes as a result of a prosecution brought by the Mechanical Copyright Protection Society, the fact that the profit lost as a result of the applicant being unlicensed was a matter of pence did not mean that the incurring of large sums in costs by the society was unreasonable, since the research necessary in order to find persons contravening the Copyright Designs and Patents Act 1988, which justified such

prosecutions, was expensive.

Sueari Lanson-Rogers QC (H. Monckton & Co, London) for the applicant; the respondent did not appear and was not represented.

Tax

Hurley v Taylor (Inspector of Taxes); Ctd (Park J) 20 Jan 1998

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Time runs out for Rank management as profits disappoint shareholders

STOCK MARKET WEEK



DEREK PAIN

IT'S A crucial week for Rank, the hard pressed leisure group, and Andrew Teare, the man drafted in from English China Clays to improve the fortunes of the Butlins-to-Odeon empire.

On Friday year's figures are due. They will not be impressive and, unless the accompanying trading statement has a warming glow, the shares will continue to hump along unloved and unwanted.

They have fallen from 545p after Mr Teare's arrival two years ago to 308p on Friday. For a time this year they were stuck at 297p, their lowest for four years.

Not then, a proud record. And institutional investors are, understandably, getting restive. They realise the root and branch shake-up instigated by Mr Teare will take time to produce results. But they are distinctly unhappy about the failure of the changes to make much impression on the bottom line.

If the chairman, Sir Denys Henderson, the former Imperial Chemical Industries chief, does not produce some evidence that the Teare treatment is starting to bear fruit they will become decidedly irritable.

Time is, therefore, running out for the Rank management. Although the stock market may be resigned to a flat profits performance it will at least want to see signs the reorganisation is beginning to make a favourable impression.

If Sir Denys and Mr Teare are unable to provide the required message institutional pressure for further changes will develop.

NaiWest Securities expects normalised profits to emerge little changed at £293m. If the investment house is right it will mean that Rank has been stuck in a profits rut throughout the 1990s.

In a bid to get the leisure group up-and-running Mr Teare has sold peripheral busi-

nesses, like amusement arcades and coach holidays, for around £300m. He also unloaded the long-standing stake in the Xerox office equipment group, regarded by many as the jewel in the group's crown, for £1bn.

The Teare reshaping has included a move into pubs, probably overpaying for the small Tom Cobleigh chain, and investing heavily in existing brands such as Butlins, the Hard Rock Café chain and the Mecca bingo halls.

Unfortunately many Rank brands had been allowed to become a trifle dowdy, even tired. The £1.5bn pumped into a rejuvenation programme may not be sufficient. And in these brand-conscious days some of Rank's capital intensive businesses could fall out of fashion even before the expected recovery takes place.

The recent profit warning from the so-glamorous Planet Hollywood restaurants chain has underlined the fragility of

branded concepts and drawn attention to the cash Rank is lavishing on the Hard Rock hamburger joints, which are already deep into middle age.

Dissension in the upper echelons of Rank's management has surfaced. John Garrett, the chief of the leisure division, suddenly departed and there have been rumours of more defections. Tom

Cobleigh's management has been reinforced by the arrival of Mark McQuater, former managing director of JD Wetherspoon.

Other heavyweights with profit presentations this week include Glaxo Wellcome and its intended merger partner, SmithKline Beecham.

Glaxo's profits should be around £2.7bn down from £2.9bn; SB should offer £1.6bn (£1.5bn). It is expected that the two will use the results to undermine the advantages of the proposed £100bn-plus merger.

The two will endeavour to demonstrate that the creation of the drugs behemoth will help Glaxo plug a gap in its earnings growth and prevent SB from getting too dependent on two key drugs.

Barclays and newcomer Woolwich continue the bank's season after Lloyds TSB's outstanding display on Friday.

The financial sector, of course, has led the Footsie

corporate action have swirled around. There is also an expectation that profits should continue to provide a veritable feast.

But Barclays will put on a storming display like Lloyds. It will actually suffer a profits fall - say 20 per cent down to £1.85bn. Restructuring charges, including the BZW disposal, will render the figures confusing, not to say misleading.

On the other hand, Woolwich should be a model of simplicity. Still largely a mortgage provider with its non-traditional activities too small to make much impact, the building society-cum-bank is on course to produce a figure near to £400m against £277m.

Insurance broker Sedgwick is another operating in an area beset by thoughts of take over action. The market advocates a merger with rival Willis Corroon, but there is also recurring gossip one of the main US insurance houses,

Marsh & McLennan or Aon, will pounce.

An American strike is likely to be hostile. It would be surprising if the US groups have not already made friendly overtures to the two Brits, only to be given the cold shoulder.

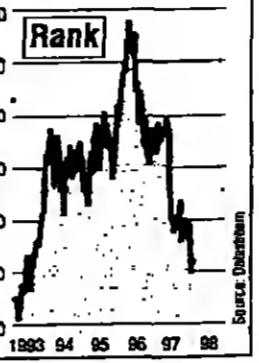
If it did have to face a hostile strike Sedgwick is unlikely to bolster its defences with its latest profits which will show a modest improvement to £98m.

British Aerospace should demonstrate increasing defence profits and falling commercial aircraft losses when it flies in with profits close to £590m against £456m last time. A 25 per cent dividend increase to 20p a share should accompany the figures.

Still BAe could be a casualty of the Asian setback and sterling's strength. Worries about future Airbus orders are likely to be offset by a \$460 Latin American deal.

Share Spotlight

share price, pence



Source: Bloomberg

Share Price Data

Prices are in sterling except where stated. The yield is the latest twelve months' declared gross dividend as a percentage of the share price. The price/earnings (P/E) ratio is the share price divided by last year's earnings per share, excluding extraordinary items but including exceptional items.

GD: Prices are Bloomberg Generics. Other disclaimer: Ex rights x: Ex-dividend; Suspended; a: Parity Paid; p: Nil Paid; s: Suspend-

ed; t: Parity Paid + Nil Paid; u: Unpaid.

Source: Bloomberg

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FINANCIAL JOURNAL OF THE YEAR

Blyth set to restore NatWest fortunes

By Lea Paterson

LORD BLYTH of Rowington, chief executive of Boots, looks set to become the next chairman of NatWest, in an attempt to restore shareholder confidence in the embattled UK bank.

The Boots' chief, who is well-respected throughout the City, has accepted NatWest's offer of a non-executive directorship and formal confirmation of the post is expected shortly.

But Lord Blyth is also to be groomed as a successor to Lord Alexander, NatWest's current chairman, who is expected to stand down next year. The move could see the role of chairman downgraded from a full-time to a part-time position.

Lord Blyth's position at Boots is unlikely to be affected by the NatWest offer. He is to become executive chairman of the retailer later this year in place of Sir Michael Angus, Boots' non-executive chairman, who is retiring.

NatWest is also expected to offer non-executive directorships to one or two other leading City figures in an attempt to inject new blood into its board.

The forthcoming boardroom reshuffle is expected to result in the departure of two non-executive directors – Sir Desmond Pitcher, chairman of United Utilities, and Sir John Banham, chairman of Tarmac.

Institutional shareholders have been pressing for changes to NatWest's board – and in particular the resignation of Lord Alexander – following a series of management crises at the bank over the past year.

Last spring, NatWest admitted that options mis-pricing had left an £80m "black hole" in its accounts, a debacle that resulted in the resignation of Martin

Owen, then chief executive of NatWest Markets, the group's investment banking arm.

In the summer merger talks with both Abbey National, the former building society, and Prudential, the life assured, collapsed, reportedly causing a rift between Lord Alexander and Derek Wanless, NatWest's chief executive.

In the autumn, NatWest embarked on a costly exit from global investment banking. It sold parts of NatWest Markets for £180m, a surplus of £55m over the book value, but admitted the business had racked up a £210m operating loss during 1997 and the bank would need to take a £270m restructuring charge.

It remains to be seen whether

Lord Blyth's appointment will be sufficient to appease disillusioned NatWest shareholders.

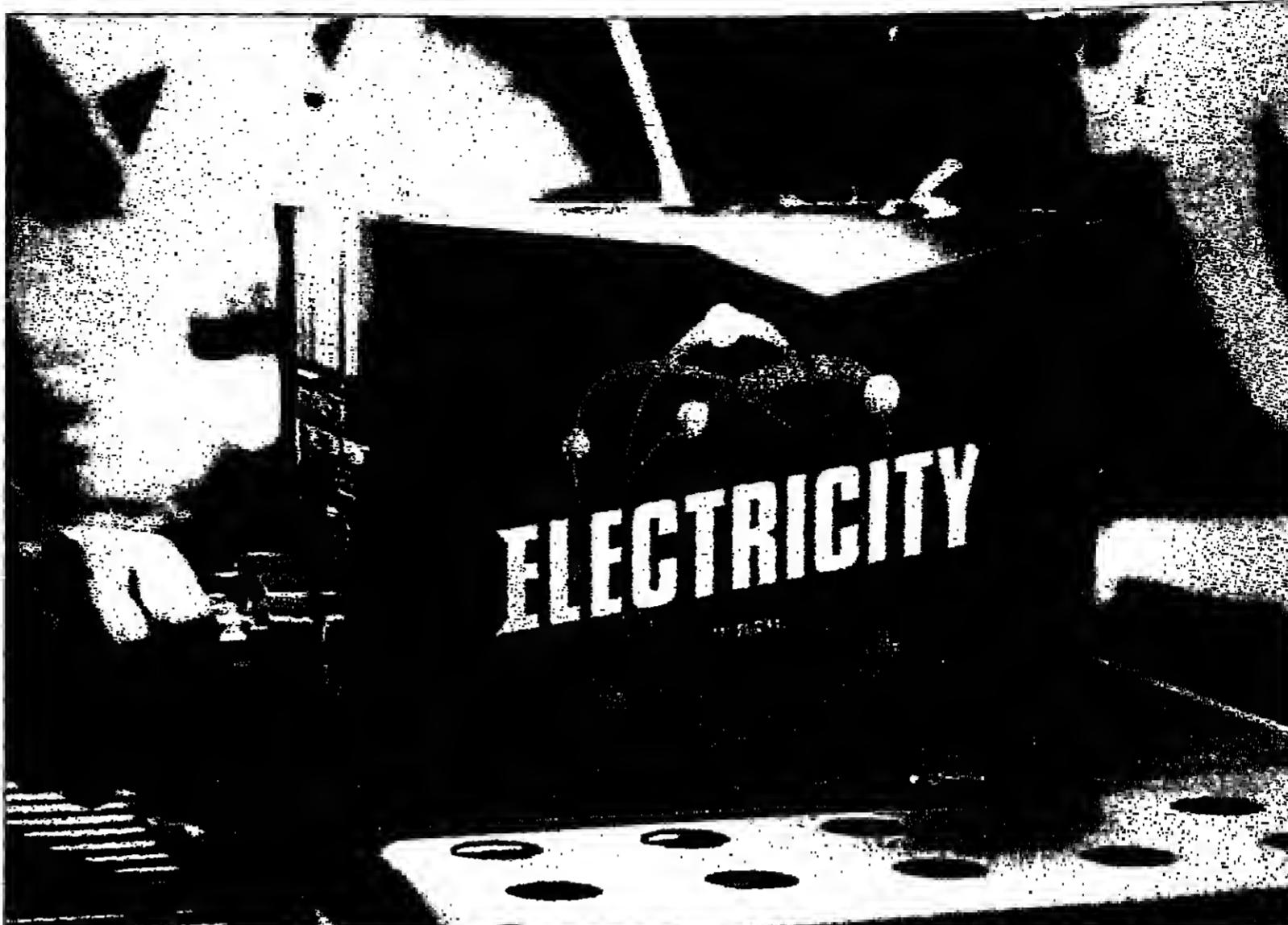
A number of institutions have also called for Mr Wanless's resignation and may press for Lord Alexander to depart soon.

Some in the City believe a merger, possibly with Barclays, is now the only way for NatWest to boost shareholder value.

Martin Taylor, Barclays' chief executive, is known to be enthusiastic about such a match. Mr Taylor approached NatWest last summer to discuss the possibility of a merger, but was rebuffed.

He believes that, in the absence of further rationalisation, the UK banking industry could find itself unable to compete with European "megabanks", such as UBS and SBC, the merging Swiss banks.

The talks coincided with PowerGen's move to step up its £7m, three-year, advertising campaign, which will tonight be extended from newspapers to television.



Getting the message across: PowerGen's television advertising campaign could be the prelude to an assault on the domestic electricity market

PowerGen eyes London link-up

By Chris Godsmark
Business Correspondent

POWERGEN and London Electricity are in advanced discussions to launch a national drive into the domestic power market when competition gets under way later this year.

The move would see PowerGen beat National Power to become the first of the two privatised generators to enter the residential market. PowerGen yesterday declined to comment on the talks, although it is understood the generator is having discussions with three or four other regional electricity companies (RECs) about marketing partnerships.

The talks coincided with PowerGen's move to step up its £7m, three-year, advertising campaign, which will tonight be extended from newspapers to television.

Sources said

London was in detailed talks with PowerGen, which could see the REC become one of the leading challengers outside its customer franchise, which covers 2.5 million homes in the capital. A

partnership would combine London's billing know-how with PowerGen's brand, though the industry regulator has already ruled out preferential wholesale power supply contracts in such arrangements.

PowerGen has also been in talks with British Gas to supply the group with electricity for its move into the domestic power market. Centrica, the demerged British Gas supply group, has yet to sign contracts with generators to secure power supplies.

If the link-up with London goes ahead, it would fuel speculation that the two companies could move towards closer ties, including equity stakes. Ed Wallis, PowerGen's chairman and chief executive, has made no secret of his desire to buy a stake in an REC as soon as the Government gives generators the

green light to buy power supply or distribution businesses. PowerGen last year looked at buying out one of the 50 per cent stakes in Midlands Electricity owned by Cinergy and GPU of the US.

The soon-to-be-published Green Paper on utility regulation is expected to sanction such moves and to allow RECs to split supply from the monopoly distribution operations. London is widely expected to be involved in one of the first REC merger deals and has already held exploratory talks with other RECs including neighbouring Seaboard.

In London's new internal mission statement Mike Beavis, its chief executive, tells staff in the near future "there will be fewer electricity companies and what they do will be different in 2000 to today."

Astec traces its routes back to BSR, the company which became a household name in the 1970s with a record player which automatically changed discs.

The group has since shifted into the market for power supply equipment for computers, with most factories based in the Far East.

Eurorail offers £300m Chunnel link sweetener

By Randeep Ramesh
Transport Correspondent

EURORAIL, the consortium which lost the original contest to build the Channel Tunnel Rail Link (CTRL), is planning to "sweeten" a new bid for the project, by offering to spend £300m on improving existing Kent commuter lines before the link is built.

The package emerged as ministerial sources said the Government would not bail

out the flagship £580m Thameslink 2000 rail project, linking towns in the Home Counties north of London to the Sussex coast, which has been hit by the CTRL's collapse.

Thameslink 2000, which will improve services for cross-Channel commuters, was relying on the £5.4bn CTRL project to build a £150m station underneath King's Cross.

The £300m Eurorail offer would be spent on lines used by Connex South Eastern trains in

Kent, according to documents seen by *The Independent*, knocking between "eight and 12 minutes" off journey times to the capital.

Eurorail – a consortium of Kvaerner, BICC, NatWest and Seabord – last week offered to take over the project, but indicated its completion would be delayed for four years and require £2.3bn in public subsidies.

The company's proposals would see the 68-mile link end at a new terminus at St Pancras,

but would put back the opening until 2007. Eurorail would not start building the link or seek to raise private finance until Eurostar passenger services were making money, which could take four years. Eurostar is currently losing £180m.

The future of the rail link was thrown into disarray earlier this month when London & Continental Railways (LCR) said it could not complete the project without an extra £1.2bn in subsidies.

Another sticking point for the proposals is that it may dis-

rupt existing rail services – which would mean that train operators would need to be compensated for delays.

About £50m of the £300m Eurorail "sweetener" would be required to straighten out tracks around Swanley, near the M25 motorway. The documents also said the offer might require the compulsory purchase of land at Herne Hill in south London and the demolition of some homes.

Another sticking point for the proposals is that it may dis-

rupt existing rail services – which would mean that train operators would need to be compensated for delays.

The Thameslink 2000 scheme will speed up journeys between commuter towns of Bedford, Peterborough and Kings Lynn and those south of London, such as Brighton and Ashford.

Railtrack, the company building Thameslink 2000, said last week that the £1.5bn bill for the new station under King's Cross would have to be paid by the Government. But ministers have now made it clear to the company that new cash will not be forthcoming.

As a compromise the proposed station – which was to offer an interchange between the Underground, Eurostar and mainline services – is likely to be scaled down.

Sources close to the project

said that the station could be built much cheaper if it did not need to include facilities for Eurostar.

PAY awards are continuing to surge ahead, putting further pressure on interest rates, according to a survey today by the Confederation of British Industry. It shows accelerating pay deals across most sectors of the economy, with manufacturing settlements averaging rises of 3.8 per cent in the three months to December, up from 3.5 per cent the previous month and 3.1 per cent a year ago.

Pay awards from service companies are growing at a quicker rate, up from 4.2 per cent in the three months to November to 4.5 per cent in December. The figures appear to vindicate the Bank of England's hawkish view on inflation last week, warning that generous pay increases made further interest rate rises likely.

Lufthansa's low-cost carrier

THE board of Lufthansa, Germany's leading airline, meets tomorrow to discuss whether to set up a new budget carrier. The move follows British Airways' plans to create a new low-cost airline, called Go, which will be based at Stansted Airport. Lufthansa confirmed the discussions after an investigation by *Der Spiegel*, the weekly news magazine, which said the new airline would be called "Lufthansa Light" and would attempt to stem losses on domestic routes.

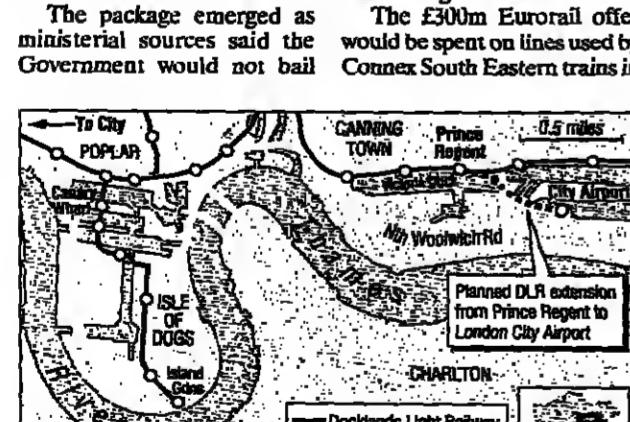
Firms slow on EMU uptake

SMALL and medium-sized UK businesses are ill-prepared for EMU, says a survey by Grant Thornton, the accountancy group and consultants Business Strategies. Almost half of all companies surveyed had yet to consider the information technology implications of a single European currency, and just 6 per cent had taken steps to ensure computer systems were EMU-compliant. Stephen Dexter, Grant Thornton partner, said: "The effects of EMU will be greater than the combined effects of decimalisation, VAT and the millennium... Businesses will be put at risk if nothing is done or if preparations are delayed until the last minute".

TOURIST RATES

Australia (dollars)	2.33	Italy (lira)	2,854
Austria (schillings)	20.23	Japan (yen)	201.26
Belgium (francs)	59.44	Malta (lira)	0.62
Canada (\$)	2.27	Netherlands (guilder)	3.23
Cyprus (pounds)	0.84	Norway (krone)	2.06
Denmark (krone)	11.03	Portugal (escudos)	293.31
Finland (marks)	8.84	France (francs)	26.45
Germany (marks)	9.64	Greece (drachmae)	7.73
Ireland (pounds)	2.88	South Africa (rand)	2.90
Hong Kong (\$)	455.43	Sweden (krone)	2.32
Switzerland (francs)	2.20	Turkey (lira)	2.32
Ireland (pounds)	1.15	USA (\$)	1.58

Source: Thomas Cook
Rates for indication purposes only



STOCK MARKETS

Indices	Close	Wk's chg	Wk's % chg	52 wk high	52 wk low	Yield (%)
FTSE 100	5562.30	-47.40	-0.84	5673.1	4169.1	3.249
FTSE 250	4990.20	19.80	0.40	4998.9	4384.2	3.196
FTSE 350	2663.70	-16.60	-0.62	2696.2	2075.7	3.24
FTSE All Share	2595.85	-14.08	-0.54	2623.63	2056.07	3.224
FTSE SmallCap	2426.00	15.40	0.64	2426.2	2182.1	2.99
FTSE Hedging	1317.40	9.70	0.74	1346.5	1225.2	3.432
FTSE AIM	1001.90	13.80	1.40	1138	965.9	0.973
Dow Jones	8370.10	180.61	2.21	8390.27	8358.78	1.857
Nikkei	16791.01	-249.05	-1.46	20910.79	14488.21	0.918
Hang Seng	10274.60	-211.26	-2.02	10820.31	7909.13	3.821
Dax	4502.48	6.15	0.14	4587.29	3171.05	1.791

INTEREST RATES

Money Market Rates	3 month	1 yr chg	1 year	1 yr chg	10 year	1 yr chg
UK	7.51	1.20	7.45	0.70	5.94	-1.18
US	5.63	0.12	5.69	-0.13	5.48	-0.83
Japan	0.84	0.34	0.82	0.26	1.97	-0.58
Germany	3.51	0.36	3.77	0.56	4.99	-0.55

MAIN PRICE CHANGES

Rises	Price (p)	Wk's chg
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GAVYN
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ON GORDON
BROWN'S
BUDGET
CONUNDRUM

Can centre-left parties halt growing inequality?

GORDON Brown's second Budget in March will confront the critical question which faces centre-left parties in all democracies today: to what extent should governments attempt to dampen or reverse the increase in economic inequality which is being driven by the fundamental forces of our time?

To start with some familiar propositions. The dominant forces for economic change in the world today - increasing global competition, along with profound technological advance in the developed economies - are displacing unskilled workers in the West.

There is some debate on whether these forces will continue to operate unabated in the next decade. Some economists, like Paul Krugman, believe that technical change will soon start to displace skilled workers instead of unskilled workers, but there is no evidence that this is happening yet. And since the process of globalisation is probably accelerating, it would take an extraordinary shift in the direction of technical change to alter the overall result.

These two forces, taken together, will considerably increase potential GDP. However, there will be short-term costs as workers and companies adjust to this new world. And if we are not alert to the dangers, there will be one huge long-term cost as well - a further meaningful increase in inequality in our societies.

This will occur because, as we have seen, the two revolutionary forces are inexorably increasing the wages of skilled workers relative to the unskilled. Since poverty is a relative concept, a "no intervention" strategy would mean accepting more poverty in our societies, although overall our economies would become much richer.

So far, we have seen two distinct models for coping with these changes in the Western democracies. In continental Europe, governments have in effect suppressed market forces, and have prevented the drop in relative wages for the unskilled from taking effect. As a result, inequality has not increased and measures of poverty have been broadly stable. But unskilled workers have been priced out of jobs, so unemployment has risen sharply.

By contrast, for much of the past two decades, market forces have been allowed to work unchecked in the American and British economies. Since unskilled workers have not been priced out of jobs, unemployment has hardly risen.

The total number of jobs, proportionate to the size of the economies concerned, has risen four times more rapidly in America than in continental Europe. But measures of inequality have risen very sharply. And, including labour force drop-outs, and incarceration rates, some studies suggest that the rate of non-employment in the United States was just as high as it was in Europe in the early 1990s.

Hence the search for a third way. From a technical economic point of view, such a third way could be designed relatively easily. Indeed, many economists have already done so. By common consent, it would have five main features:

- First, we would expand in-work welfare benefits, like the Earned Income Tax Credit in the US, to increase the incentive for unskilled workers to accept jobs.
- Second, we would offer a minimum guaranteed income level, regardless of employment circumstances, and we would probably implement this through some form of negative income tax.
- Third, we would introduce a new mar-

ginal wage subsidy, paid to employers who increased their total employment of low-wage workers. This might be somewhat like the New Jobs Tax Credit in the US in the late 1970s.

• Fourth, we would continue to tighten the eligibility rules for benefit claimants, and we would police the system even more actively. There would have to be time limitations on all forms of income support, other than the minimum support levels

remember that 80 per cent of those who will be in the labour force in 10 years' time are already there. So enhanced measures for life-long learning are essential.

Given that all of this is so obvious, why has it not been done? Because, hidden beneath these fine-sounding words, a huge political problem lies buried.

This programme of welfare reform would not save money - in fact, it would be extremely expensive in its early years. Furthermore, it would almost certainly involve a frontal assault on the increases in living standards that middle Britain and middle America have come to expect.

Look at the problem this way. If we do nothing, but simply allow market forces to run their course, then the real incomes of skilled workers will rise at least 1.5 per cent per annum faster than those of unskilled workers.

Over a decade, the improvement in the relative position of skilled workers is most unlikely to be less than 10 per cent. Extremely rough calculations (which need a lot more rigorous work) suggest that on the "no intervention" strategy, the Government could reduce the marginal rate of income tax by at least 1 percentage point - say from 20 per cent to 19 per cent - over this period.

In other words, we would see more of the same - poverty would grow, and middle or upper-income groups would take virtually all of the gains from economic growth.

What would the Government have to do to stop this further widening in income differentials? Again, very rough calculations suggest that it would have to increase tax receipts from the middle groups by about 9 per cent to achieve the required redistribution to hold relative incomes

equal. This could be done by raising the marginal rate of income tax from 20 per cent to 22 per cent, instead of cutting it to 19 per cent.

All of these figures would need to be increased still further if the Government wished to implement a large increase in spending on education and lifelong learning, as well as holding relative incomes constant.

This clearly sounds drastic, and perhaps it is totally infeasible from a political perspective. But, of course, we could think of ways of increasing the tax burden which would be much less inflammatory than raising the marginal rate of income tax.

And even with this programme the middle-income groups would still enjoy large gains in their living standards - the Government would only be taking the cream off the top of these gains.

It is far from clear that this reform programme is the best way of getting the centre-left re-elected. In fact, it would probably be better from an electoral point of view simply to allow market forces to take effect, and to use that trend to consolidate already strong gains of the new Democrat and Labour Parties with middle-income groups.

After all, turnout in low-income groups is quite low, and in Britain they generally vote disproportionately in places where Labour already has a lock on the likely result.

But as Mr Brown prepares his Budget, many are wondering what exactly is the point of the centre-left, unless it is willing to start tackling these intractable problems? And would new Labour really deserve to be re-elected if it sat back and did nothing as inequality in our society continued to mount?

UBS to axe 200 more staff as merger bites

By Les Paterson

Some 200 highly paid dealers and analysts at UBS's London offices will today become the latest casualties of the bank's decision to merge with the Swiss Bank Corporation (SBC).

UBS is expected to tell employees in its equities division this morning whether they will be offered jobs in the new bank.

Only around half the staff in the 400-strong equities department are likely to be offered posts, and numerous City stars are among those facing the sack.

But the scale of the job cuts is not as large as had been

feared, following intense lobbying of top management by Hector Sants of UBS, joint European head of equities at the new bank. It had been rumoured that practically the whole UBS equity department would be axed.

Only a handful of SBC employees are expected to lose their jobs, although the precise scale of job cuts is unlikely to be known until UBS staff signal whether they are willing to take the positions offered.

The handling of the redundancy programme has caused intense bitterness among UBS staff, who had initially been told the best from both banks would be chosen to work at Warburg

Dillon Read, the new investment bank.

Those staff who have failed to secure jobs at the new bank will not be given their redundancy notices for the time being. Instead, they will go into a "resources pool", from where they could be offered jobs elsewhere in the bank.

UBS staff who are made redundant will receive a minimum of three months' pay, plus one month per year of service. Those over 40 will receive slightly better terms.

John Aitken, UBS's highly-rated banking analyst, is rumoured to be among those facing the axe today, as is Richard Hannah, the well-re-



UBS: Redundancies just as great as had been feared

spected transport analyst.

UBS and UBS are expected to shed 3,000 City jobs over the coming months, with UBS bearing the brunt of the cuts. The job-cutting programme began last Wednesday, when only 100 of UBS's 150 corporate finance were offered posts in the new bank. By contrast, jobs were found for almost the entire 300-strong SBC corporate finance department.

Staveley faces pressure from Guinness Peat

By Peter Thal Larsen

STAVELEY, the underperforming engineering and minerals group, looks set to be the next target to come under pressure from Guinness Peat Group (GPG). Sir Ron Brierley's investment vehicle, to reverse a slump in its share price.

Blake Nixon, a director of GPG, said shareholders had lost faith in Staveley's management. "The company has lurched from one management crisis to another," he said.

"After two or three complete reorganisations it is still not working. Something needs to change."

GPG takes an uncompromising stance towards underperforming investments. The group is currently embroiled in a £42m hostile bid for Bluebird Toys, the Polly Pocket and Plas-

ticine company, which it launched after becoming frustrated with Bluebird's falling share price.

GPG has also been aggressively building a stake in Staveley. Last month, the company bought another 13.2 million shares, taking its shareholding to 11.3 per cent and making it the second largest shareholder behind Schroders, which has 17 per cent.

Staveley shares have dropped by a third since June. In the past five years, they have halved in value.

GPG is unlikely to put any direct pressure on Staveley until the Bluebird Toys bid is over.

But any action is likely to win support from Staveley's other major shareholders, which include Britannic Assurance and Prudential.

In January last year,

Staveley issued a profit warning after Chronos Richardson, its industrial measurement subsidiary, ran into problems in Italy and France.

The group subsequently announced that it had put Chronos and Weigh-Tronix, its other measurement business, up for sale in order to concentrate on building up its engineering and business services arm.

"Staveley's management decided that because they'd failed something had to go," said Mr Nixon.

"So they decided to sell the business and keep the management."

A sale of the measurement division is thought to be imminent. But investors are likely to oppose any attempts by Staveley's management to reinvest the proceeds, preferring them

to hand the cash back to shareholders.

GPG also wants the company to consider a demerger of British Salt, its profitable subsidiary which has a near monopoly on the UK salt market.

The company, which this year is expected to make profits of £13m-£14m on sales of about £35m, generates a steady flow of cash.

A spokesman for Staveley said the company's directors were looking at ways of maximising the returns to shareholders.

Mr Nixon, however, remains uncompromising, pointing out that Staveley's board was paid £1.5m last year - almost £600,000 of which went to chief executive Roy Hitchens - while the directors have no significant equity stake in the business.

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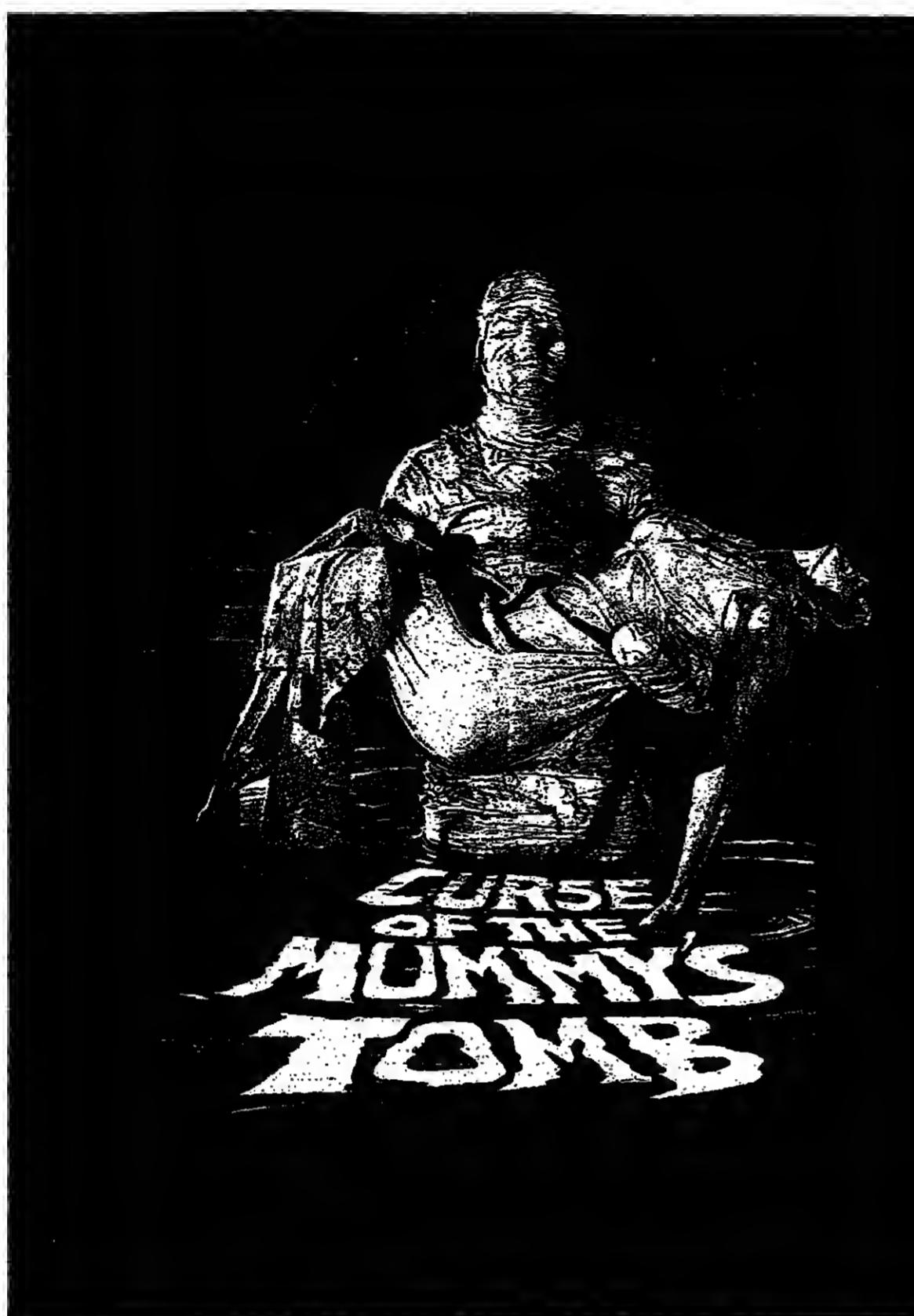
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Mummies back from dead with a modern miracle



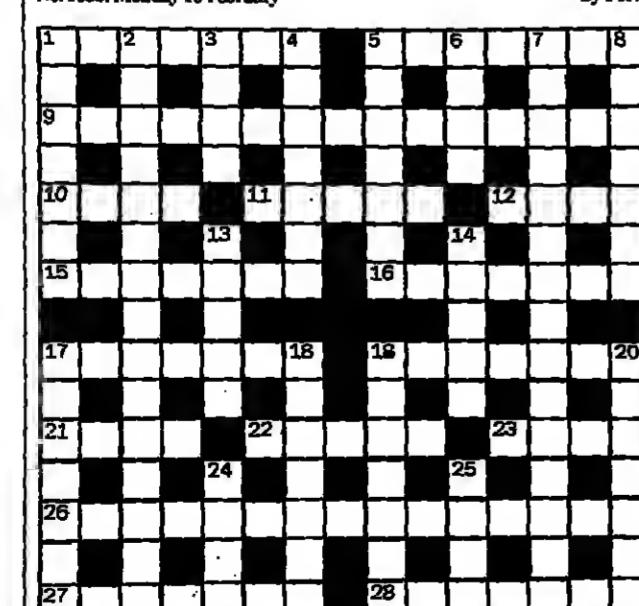
A scene from the 1964 Hammer House of Horror movie Curse of the Mummy's Tomb (Photograph: The Kobal Collection). Below: The pyramid at Giza. During the last century mummies were taken from tombs to become museum curiosities.



THE INDEPENDENT CROSSWORD

No. 3535. Monday 16 February

By Portia



ACROSS
1 Make good progress in the gym? (5)
5 Priest in charge receiving most recent material? (7)
9 Wild American columbine no-one hardly ever finds (4,2,1,4)
10 Reserve gets game (4)
11 Sounds fed up with executive (5)
12 Bet Italian poet blows his top (4)

15 Artist's bringing back stand to put vase on (7)
16 Quiet soot around Northern Irish river (7)
17 Neglected side line one is into (7)
19 Detailed profile of one Olympic finalist (7)
21 Boy in the mirror you see (4)
22 Performing's hard for a start (5)

DOWN
1 Bung cardinal's hat on (7)
2 Locates alternative lodgings near together (2,5,8)
3 Number involved in link up prepare to leave (4)
4 Project also occupies military unit? (7)
5 Old Paris left developed deadly weapon (7)
6 Take off cross on top (4)
7 Source of irritation that makes one prickly (5,2,3,5)
8 Business interest (7)
13 Old French statesman's corrupt (5)
14 Might absorb a Latin language (5)
17 Time to give (7)
18 Power house? (7)
19 Highly delighted that part-song's almost complete (7)
20 Order a smile and cause annoyance (7)
24 Try ringing Australia's holiday island (4)
25 Quarter omitted from joint document (4)

By Stephen Goodwin
Heritage Correspondent

UPPER-CLASS Egyptians preparing for their journey for the afterlife cannot in their wildest dreams have imagined that it might take a tiny part of them to Manchester in the cause of medical science.

Mummified bodies were carted off from tombs by the Nile in great numbers during the 18th and 19th centuries to become somewhat macabre curiosities in the museums of Europe. But Manchester has always had a more scientific bent.

Dr Margaret Murray and an interdisciplinary team unwrapped and carried out necropsies (autopsies) on two mummies at the University of Manchester in 1908 and published the findings.

Now a request has gone out world-wide to help in the establishment of the first Egyptian Mummy International Tissue Bank at the Manchester Museum. Only small samples are being sought - one or two grams of dry tissue and hopefully a strip of hair - but from this it should be possible to unlock thousands of years of disease history.

The concept of a tissue bank arose out of an on-going study in the Nile valley into "bilharzia", a potentially fatal disease afflicting between 200 and 300 million people world-wide. Correctly known as Schistosomiasis, it is carried by parasites which live on snails in stagnant water. Specialists on the 15-strong team of the Manchester Egyptian Mummy Project are working on the study in co-operation with the Egyptian Ministry of Health and the US Medical Service Corporation International.

Using techniques developed at Manchester enabling certain diseases to be detected in small samples of tissue, it should be possible for the first time to add a new dimension to medical research, looking back over a 5,000-year timespan.

Egyptians perfected the preservation of bodies by mummification around 2,600BC, using it first for royalty and then the upper and middle classes.



Golden treasure: The death mask of Tutankhamun, whose tomb was discovered in 1922

However, bits of the pharaohs will not be deposited in the tissue bank. Egypt forbids such exports. If the study was to check on the health of Tutankhamun it would be as part of research to be done on mummies within Egypt.

Manchester's letter to the world's museums acknowledges that the permanent transfer of even a small sample of mummy tissue raises "important ethical issues", but it gives an assurance that the samples will be handled with dignity and used only for bona fide research.

Dr Rosalie David, Keeper of Egyptology and director of the project, is encouraged by the initial response to the appeal and hopes that eventually the bank will hold tissue from a large pop-

ulation. Several thousand mummies were taken out of Egypt and there are up to 600 in Britain alone, with the biggest collection at the British Museum. Manchester has 21 human mummies and 34 mummified animals, assorted cats, birds, rodents and even crocodiles. Some would have been pets and others revered as having the spirits of gods.

Scientists suspect bilharzia will be found in the ancient Egyptians just as it afflicts some 20 per cent of its people today. But by tracking it back more than 5,000 years a pattern may emerge which might point to a cause, or aid in combating the infection.

The bilharzia study will be only the beginning. It is believed that the tissue samples could also yield valuable information about other diseases, notably malaria, one of the world's biggest killers.

When Howard Carter found Tutankhamun's tomb in 1922, the last of the tombs in the Valley of the Kings to be discovered, it seemed like the last piece of the jigsaw of ancient Egypt. But the work at Manchester suggest the mummies have much more to tell us.

"At this stage it is difficult to be certain of what the additional value will be of this extra dimension (time)," said Tristram Besterman, director of the Manchester Museum. "But everyone involved thinks it's worth doing to see where it leads us."

THE INDEPENDENT
INDEPENDENT

£10 Conran lunch

The Independent and Independent on Sunday in association with Terence Conran are delighted to offer readers the opportunity to enjoy lunch or early evening supper at six of London's top restaurants throughout February for £10

Until Saturday February 28th, the following establishments are offering readers a two course lunch or early evening supper for just £10 per person.

How to Book

To participate in the offer simply collect one token (tokens will be printed every day until Saturday February 28th) and then telephone the restaurant of your choice quoting yourself as an independent diner. On your arrival at the restaurant you should present your token in order to qualify for the offer. Each token is valid for a complete table booking. The tokens will be valid for one week only, and will be dated accordingly. To continue to participate in the offer, simply collect a token from the week in which you wish to dine. Pre-booking is essential and all bookings are subject to availability.

A special discount is available on selected items in the Bluebird and Le Pont de la Tour shops on presentation of the token.



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Blue Print Cafe The Design Museum, 28 Shad Thames, London, SE1 2YE
0171 378 7031
Lunch 12noon - 3pm, early evening supper 6pm - 7pm*

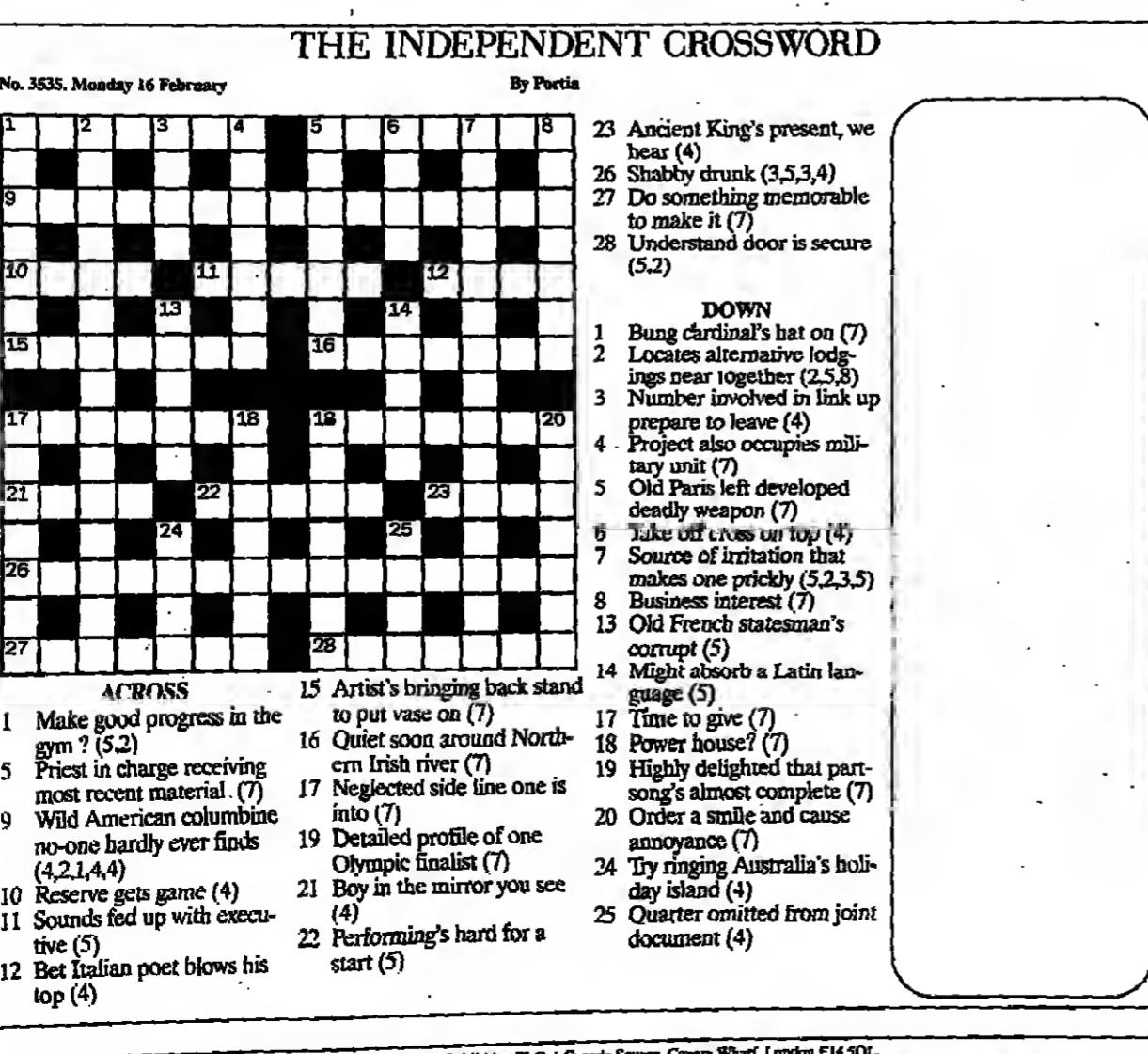
Le Pont de la Tour Bar & Grill 36d Shad Thames, London, SE1 2YE
0171 403 8403
Lunch 12noon - 3pm, early evening supper 6pm - 7pm

Mezzo 100 Wardour Street, London, W1V 3LE
0171 314 4000
Lunch 12noon - 3pm, early evening supper 6pm - 7pm;
closed Saturday lunchtime, open Sunday 12pm - 4pm

Quaglino's 16bury Street, St James's, London, SW1Y 6AL
0171 930 6767
Lunch 12noon - 3pm, early evening supper 5.30pm - 6.30pm

Zinc Bar & Grill 21 Heddon Street, London, W1R 7LF
0171 255 8899
The special 3 course menu is available between 12noon and 7pm
between Monday and Wednesday the offer is extended until 11pm*

The offer is available 7 days a week at all six restaurants
*Closed from 6pm on Sunday Offer not available after 6pm on February 14



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